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P R O S P E C T U S
OF THE 13
REVOLUTIONARY MAGAZINE,
(TO BE CONTINUED WEEKLY.)

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

AMIDST the animosities and hatreds which the present revolution, and the civil dissensions in France occasion, *the still Voice of Truth and Impartiality* has seldom been heard. Facts have either been concealed, discoloured, or exaggerated, during a contest where they have either been related by the oppressors or the oppressed.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MAGAZINE is intended to rescue mankind from those errors into which fallacy naturally leads; and it will be dedicated to the purpose of giving a detail of whatever is most interesting and extraordinary in the course of the present unexampled Revolution.

The whole human race has been, and still is agitated, by this new and violent change in manners, government, morality, and religion. The word REVOLUTION is in the mouths of all, though few conceive the nature of what a Revolution is; this it will be our business to explain, both as to the ordinary effects of such convulsions upon general prosperity and individual happiness, so that men may form a conclusion, either as patriots or private individuals, concerning what their interest and the good of society dictate. On this subject men ought to leave empty discussion and wild theories, and learn, from example and experience, what they have to fear, and what they have to expect.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MAGAZINE will contain many very curious and interesting Anecdotes and Details of the Treatment of Prisoners—of the *Wives and Daughters of accused Persons—Gallantries and Cruelties of the National Commissioners in the several Departments of France*; many very strange facts relative to *the Revolution, the Revolutionary Army, &c. &c.*

Revolutions form the most important epochs in history. It is during such convulsions that the character, the talents, and the whole mind of man are developed, and shewn in their full beauty or utmost deformity.

The French Revolution, though it has only lasted six years, has furnished more curious and important matter than the historic

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page can furnish in the annals of any other nation; but the refined cruelties and brutalities exercised towards condemned women, and the female relations of prisoners, exceed any thing upon record in history.

Together with the Anecdotes relative to the French Revolution, will be given, from time to time (in order to appreciate Revolutions as they take place in all countries), the most extraordinary events in *England, Scotland, America, Naples, Sweden, Poland, Portugal*, and other countries where they have existed. A short Review will be added of the conduct of the principal Actors, and of Publications on both sides of the question; with some Anecdotes relating to *Ancient and Modern Republics*: THE WHOLE COMPRISING A WORK MORE INTERESTING, INSTRUCTIVE, AND ENTERTAINING THAN ANY HITHERTO PUBLISHED, IN ANY COUNTRY OR IN ANY LANGUAGE, ON A SIMILAR SUBJECT.

This Work is compiled and collected by several Gentlemen, who having resided long on the Continent of Europe, have established a very extensive Correspondence, and who have the means of receiving the most authentic information on every occasion.

The Compilers are in possession of many curious facts which never have been printed, and which, probably, never will be published in France; the French nation being ashamed of the atrocities committed during the reign of Robespierre and other tyrants.

This work will be published in Weekly Numbers, at Six-pence each, on a good Demy Paper, and with a new Type; each Number to contain Two Sheets and a Half of Letter Press, with one Copper-plate Print, on some interesting Event of the Revolution.

A few copies will be printed on a superfine paper, price 9d. each number.

Thirteen Numbers will make One Volume, an Index to which will be given, with proper directions for the Binder; as it is intended that this Work shall be *sufficiently elegant and interesting for the rich, and cheap enough for all classes of persons.*

As there is an advantage both to the Publishers and Purchasers of such a Work, in selling and receiving complete sets, those who subscribe will receive the Publication at the rate of 10s. 6d. for 26 Numbers, or One Half Year, making only 5s. 3d. for each Volume; which, with 13 Plates, and 32½ Sheets of Letter-press, is unexampled in any *New and Original Publication.*



PLAN OF THE WORK.

THE History of a Revolution, such as that of France, can never be sufficient to give a true idea of its nature ; because every person in the nation, having become a sort of public character, transactions of all sorts multiplied in a manner unexampled ; and as the *great misery* to which France has been reduced, is owing in a considerable degree *to every one meddling with public affairs*, it is necessary to resort to particular anecdotes, which shew the spirit of the times, perhaps better than the most important transactions ; but which could not, according to any known mode of writing history, be with propriety introduced, without breaking the thread, and destroying the unity of the work.

The same thing may be said, with respect to the characters of those who have figured in the revolution, and who have been so numerous as to render it impossible to give them all a place in history, which would be degraded by entering into the details of the private transactions and circumstances of Marat, Brissot, Le Brun, Danton, Santerre, and others who figured away, and strutted their hours upon the revolutionary stage.

In other times, a dozen men have been the principal actors, and it was easy, and consistent with the order of history, to enter into their private characters, and even when, during popular commotions, a few worthless individuals have made themselves conspicuous, it has still been possible to enter into a detail of their actions ; but the Revolution of France leaves all far behind. The number of actors has at all times been greater than was ever known, and they have been perpetually changing ; faction succeeding faction, like the waves of the sea on the sandy shore.

To avoid interrupting the thread of history, and at the same time, to make the reader acquainted with all that is interesting and curious, the *History*, *Lives*, and *Anecdotes*, are separated ; although, to appreciate the revolution, the lives and anecdotes are absolutely necessary ; but yet, we hesitate not to say, that if they were all woven together, the history would be unintelligible, its thread being so completely broken.

Another reason for separating them, is, that the language of History ought to be dignified and impartial ; but the lives of the revolutionary Heroes cannot be treated with any degree of dignity ; and as expressions of anger and disgust, are inseparable from the recital of crimes, unfortunately, that honest indignation which criminality and baseness inspire does not look like impartiality. Had
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all the senators and emperors of Rome been Neroes and Catalines, the Roman History would have required a division for public affairs, and private characters; and even their posterity would have doubted the reality of such a succession of monsters.

Each Number will contain one sheet of History: the remainder will be Characters, Anecdotes, local Transactions, and former Revolutions will also be treated of, though the French Revolution will be justly intitled to the first place.

Thirteen Numbers will make ONE VOLUME, in which will be THIRTEEN COPPER-PLATES and an INDEX, as well as a Frontispiece, engraved in a superior style, so that the whole Work will be as elegant as instructive; and while it treats of the recent transactions of men, it will be done with that regard to truth and to comparing different facts together, that will render it a sure guide to those who in future ages, when the animosities of the moment shall be past over, and when the hand of Time will have drawn aside the veil from many transactions which are yet under cover, shall write the history of one of the most extraordinary, the most bloody, and most fatal revolutions that ever took place in any nation.

The Frontispiece to the first Volume (which will be delivered with the Thirteenth Number), will be, *Time, aided by Truth, furnishing History with the materials for the instruction of posterity.*

The Plates to the single numbers will be chosen so as to shew the progress of a people when in a state of fermentation and revolt from moderate and good views, to the most extravagantly bad ones, in the manner that Hogarth gave lessons by his beautiful representation of the progress of Vice in the Rake's Progress, the Harlot's Progress, and the Industrious and Idle Apprentice—Lessons which will be esteemed as long as virtue and morality are in repute amongst mankind.

Upon the whole, the plan intended will be executed carefully, with a view to shew Revolutions as they have hitherto been found to affect the happiness of individuals, and the prosperity of nations, setting out with one principle, *that as men cannot govern themselves, people must be chosen to do it, those who are chosen must be obeyed, and that those abstract truths being fairly laid down and acknowledged, the question of which is the best mode of choosing rulers is only to be determined by experience, for theories on that head only lead to error and the miseries attendant upon it.*

P R E F A C E

TO THE

REVOLUTIONARY MAGAZINE.

IT has become fashionable for men to talk of **REVOLUTIONS** as if they were little else than experiments, which, if they did not succeed, society might return to its former state without difficulty or danger.

It would even appear that those who are so actively employed in proving to us that we are at present miserable, carry their opinions so far as to think that we cannot be worse, and that therefore any change must be for the better.

Opinion placed against opinion is not sufficient to determine this important point; we therefore open the book which contains the History of the Revolutions, ancient and modern, and we find, that to commit the interests of a Nation to a People in a state of Revolt, is LIKE GIVING A DARLING INFANT TO THE WINDS AND THE WAVES, OR COMMITTING IT TO THE CARE OF THE HUNGRY WOLVES OF THE DESART. Let us therefore appeal to facts, and to the experience of other nations and of other times, and then let us form a judgment, and resolve accordingly.

The following work is composed for the purpose of shewing Revolutions as they affect the generation in which they take place, and the individuals who led them on; and as all men are at this time occupied in considering that important subject which involves the peace and happiness of all, nothing can be of more serious moment than to enable those whose avocations have not permitted them to follow step by step the causes and consequences of Revolutions, than a true picture and relation of what has actually taken place.

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A circumstance which renders it the more necessary to make an appeal to facts in the present times, is, that unfortunately some abstract and metaphysical principles, which are plausible but not solid, have been thrown out before the Public as the true basis of liberty and good government; by these society is menaced with absolute destruction, owing to the impossibility of applying to practice those abstract principles.

Abstract principles have been held up in opposition to common sense and experience; just as, in the dark ages, superstition was substituted for the true Religion, men became then savage and enthusiastic; and they always will do so, when they abandon the dictates of the head and the heart to follow things which they do not understand.

As the tree is known by the fruit which it produces, so the actions of men are to be esteemed in the eye of prudence according to their consequences; and it is by this rule that we must judge of **REVOLUTIONS**. If their consequences promote the happiness of mankind, we must praise and imitate them; but if they do not, we must blame and shun what it would be dangerous and ruinous to follow.

If it should appear, that by attempting to render human government perfect by means of force, enlightened men are led to anarchy and error infinitely worse than the most ignorant ever suffered under; it will make us very cautious how we listen to those Plans of Reform and theoretical perfection, which are brilliant in idea, but which, upon the execution, vanish into air, leaving behind *nothing but pain, misfortune, and repentance*. If, on the contrary, we find that men can easily begin, and advantageously finish, a Revolution, then may we enter upon one boldly, and without fear. To decide this grand and important question, we mean with impartiality to examine what Revolutions have in general produced, and whatever the result of our enquiry may turn out to be, still it will enable individuals to judge what is prudent for themselves to do, or at least what risque they run, and what is advantageous for the present and succeeding race of men.

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Although the French revolution is by far the most in point, and consequently will occupy the greatest portion of our attention, we shall take a view of all other remarkable Revolutions of which history furnishes any accurate account ; and we shall examine their effects both upon the general mass of the people in Revolt, and those individuals who took an active part in these dangerous times, where individual justice has been set aside for the sake of the general interest, but where more frequently the general interest has been sacrificed to the ambition, the vengeance, or the avarice of a few individuals.

The time is past when men should reason about Revolutions in order to determine whether to Revolt or not ; example and experience are before our eyes, and we should rather believe what we really see than those phantoms which only fleet in our own imaginations, which not only are often vain and illusive from the imperfectness of the judgment of man, but which are generally clothed in a false garb to gratify our wishes or our vanity.

It shall be our endeavour to give many facts and few reasonings ; but in giving an account of a Revolution which has been founded upon theory, and imaginary notions of human perfection, and where men have taken abstract principles for their guide, it will be impossible to avoid entering into a short discussion of those principles which have hitherto conducted a nation through so *ruinous a road* ; but while it falls to our lot to do this, we shall do it briefly, connecting as much as possible these principles with their consequences.

We shall have occasion to expose Atheistical tenets, such as will make the Christian shudder ; political reveries that will make the man of common sense look down with contempt on those whose vanity and ignorance framed, and with pity on those who followed them ; we shall be obliged to relate transactions which will fill the humane and feeling heart with horror and dismay ; and others which will extort from modesty a blush, from pity a tear. But the truth must be told on the most important subject that ever attracted the attention and occupied the mind of man ; for, as far as can be concluded from the aggregate history of Revolutions, it is
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nothing less *than the sacrifice of the peace and happiness of three generations*: that is, of the men who began the Revolt, and of their children and grandchildren. Those, then, who speak of Revolutions, speak of sacrificing the present race, the rising generation, and another yet unborn, to obtain advantages that *perhaps* may be realised, but which are very distant and by no means certain.

Every Reader however is to judge for himself when the facts are before him ; and whatever we, as a nation, are to do, let us do it with our eyes open : whether we act or sit still, let our conduct be the result of reason, after facts are fully investigated, and the consequences duly weighed ; but while we resist the insinuations of those who preach up passive obedience, let us oppose those also who would set a nation by the ears in order to remedy the smallest grievance. If we should not be able to form a clear decision, let us invariably prefer evils, the extent of which we know, to others that we cannot fathom ; nor let us be led to begin a career which it is impossible to stop, until we are fully convinced of its wisdom, its propriety and inevitable necessity.

THE

REVOLUTIONARY MAGAZINE.

HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CHAP. I.

Remote causes of discontents—Immediate causes—Bad form of government—Imprudence of the Court—Parties that existed—Their views—Every thing tends towards a Revolution.

THE French Government, very unlike that of England, had become less free for these several centuries, although the nation was becoming every day more enlightened.

Originally the French enjoyed a greater portion of freedom than our ancestors did in England; but while they enjoyed it, they were apt to abuse it, and so by degrees their mixt monarchy degenerated, the kings who were formerly obliged to consult the Representatives of People assembled in the States General, when new laws were to be made, or fresh taxes to be laid on, ceased to consult them at all, and so became masters of the national purse and the national freedom.

It is a curious circumstance, that while the general mass of the nation was losing its rights, the acts of

oppression towards individuals became less numerous and less vexatious: this is only mentioned as a fact that took place, and is not intended as an argument in favour of arbitrary government; though it is a clear and decided answer to the conclusions drawn by many writers of late, that kings who have it in their power to oppress the people, will always do it to the greatest extent possible.

The laws and customs of France had remained almost without any change for several centuries, and the people depended for any improvement in them solely upon the will of the King and his Council. For near two hundred years the Representatives of the People had not met, and they had good reason to complain of an infringement on their rights.

Ever since the time of Louis the XIVth, that vain monarch who tormented all Europe and nearly exhausted his own country, the number of nobles were encreasing and the revenues of the church becoming more exorbitant, whilst the expences of the Court were every year augmenting.

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The writings of men of letters and of wit, had thrown a disrepute upon the Roman Catholic religion, which is so full of pomp and shew, ill suited either to the simplicity of the founder of the Christian faith, or the present modes of thinking; and as men unfortunately are apt to run from one extreme to another, the same nation which two hundred years ago could be excited to such a degree of religious enthusiasm as to rise upon those harmless men who did not agree with them in religious tenets, were now just as ready to rise up in opposition to all religion.

Unfortunately for the catholic clergy the change in men's minds was not perceived, or at least not attended to. The clergy had relaxed in their own duty, but abated nothing of their rigour towards other classes, which circumstance could not escape the observation of the French; who in such cases are the most quick-sighted people on the face of the earth.

A general outcry against the rapacity and relaxed manners of the clergy in general, was the consequence of this; and it was evident that there would be an unanimous effort made to pull them down, the first opportunity that offered for doing it with safety and conveniency.

The practice of *selling* patents of nobility, which was introduced under Louis XIV, in order to fill his empty coffers, had three bad

effects; it multiplied that class of men too much, diminished their respectability, as honour purchased with money is a burlesque in itself, and a reproach on the court that attempts to dispense it in that manner.—The third great evil was, that it displeased the ancient nobility, as well as the commoners, and drew great sums from trade, as rich merchants and manufacturers turned their views towards ennobling their family, which withdrew capital from trade, in order to become noble, and partake of the advantages annexed to nobility.

Most places of honour and profit in the church, the law, and the army, were only open to the nobles; and as the children of a nobleman were noble, this privileged order was a real grievance; and this was attended with a two-fold inconveniency, for while on the one hand it multiplied titles and privileges, and rendered them obnoxious, it on the other hand rendered them contemptible, both on account of their abundance, and because many noblemen were poor, for it is readily to be conceived, that though a marquis might transmit nobility to a dozen children, he could not transmit estates to them.

Although honours are the cheapest manner in which the public can reward public services, yet the nature of things has circumscribed it within a very narrow limit;

limit; for honour ceases to be a honour, when multiplied to a great degree, or when arranged in the garb of indigence and want.

The noblest blood in all the world's
abash'd;

Having no lacquey, but pale poverty.

The discontents occasioned by the preference given to the order of nobles, was one great cause of the revolution; and the Court of France was so little acquainted with the nature of men, that it would seem they had made it a part of their politics to render them discontented.

None but a noble could wear a sword, or put a servant in livery: useless, invidious, and, consequently dangerous distinctions, which did not fail when the revolution came, to fall heavy on the devoted head of those who had availed themselves of such absurd privileges.

It must be agreeable for an Englishman to consider how different the case is here, where a nobleman only transmits nobility to his eldest son, where the whole number of nobles is about the thousandth part of what it was in France, and when this is neither in matters of moment, nor in matters of pride, any real distinction.

The exemption of personal arrests for debt, has often been mentioned as an invidious privilege of the Peers of this kingdom; but it is an absurdity to consider it as

such; for not only the Members of the House of Commons, but Players, when in the Play-house, and Attornies when in Court, enjoy the same advantage, which is not meant as any thing more than to put it out of the power of individuals to interrupt the course of public affairs by personal arrests.

France was crowded with nobility, who occupied all places of honour and profit, and who were therefore hated by the great mass of the nation. On the other hand, the priests were extremely numerous, and the people considered them as so many locusts living on the fat of the land.

In Roman Catholic countries, as the priests are not allowed to marry, and therefore have few persons attached to them, or who depend upon them, it is very natural to consider their selfish conduct with an evil eye. Religion had been turned into a sort of ridicule by Voltaire, and other men of the same stamp, who had more wit than wisdom, and who would rather make mankind admire their genius, than render them a real service, by instilling into their minds good morality in place of whimsical buffooneries, that tended to undermine religious principles, and thereby lay a foundation for all those miseries which are the inevitable consequence of a want of proper sense of the duty which we owe to our Maker, and a respect for these sublime principles

principles which teach us likewise our duty to our neighbour.

The philosophers, as they were called, or rather as they called themselves, were not by any means ignorant of the mischief they were preparing; but vanity spurred them on, and they had not a sufficient share of moral rectitude to restrain them in the use of their brilliant talents.

The revenues of the clergy in France, including convents, tythes, and lands, belonging to priories, abbys, and regular clergy, were estimated to produce a yearly revenue of five hundred millions, or twenty millions sterling, which was an immense sum indeed, and very capable of inspiring its possessors with pride, and the rest of the nation with envy.

The Roman Catholic religion is too much connected with shew and ceremony, which though it did exceedingly well in dark ages, excited contempt rather than admiration or devotion when men came to be better instructed; and to all this is to be added, that many of the dignified clergy themselves, encouraged the new philosophy which was set on foot to undermine religion, and so they prepared the way for their own downfall.

To the dislike which from those reasons had arisen against the nobles and the clergy, is to be added the extravagance of the court, and the high taxes laid on in latter

years; and as there was no fixed sum assigned to the civil list, as in England, but that all the expences were blended together; it followed very naturally, that the burthens of the people were attributed to the extravagant expences of a court, which seemed to pay no attention to the manner in which the sums of money wasted in pleasure were collected at first.

A true fatherly care of the rich over the welfare and happiness of the poor, and a reciprocal respect and affection from them, is one of the sweetest, most desirable, and at the same time strongest of the bands that can cement society together, and this was wanting in France; for though the King of France himself was a man of an excellent heart and disposition; yet the people who surrounded him, seemed to be so drowned in pleasure, that they prevented his good intentions and love for his people, from producing those good effects which might have been expected.

In the midst of all these discontents against the nobility, the clergy and the court, came on the American war, which set the example of a people revolting against their King, and establishing a free and good form of government. It set the example likewise of the King of France supporting this, and therefore it either must have reconciled the people to the idea of insurrection, or it must have lessened

lessened their opinion of the King who protected the insurgents.

The enormous expence of the American war was another cause of discontent; so that all these circumstances taken together we evidently perceive that France was like a mass of combustible matter, ready to blaze out with violence the moment that any spark might set it first on fire. All was discontent and disorder, and the giddy court perceived nothing of the volcano that was under its feet.

The taxes, though burthensome, were not equal to the yearly expenditures, so that the necessity of borrowing in time of peace and laying on new taxes was employed; but this, at all times a ruinous undertaking, became doubly so, at a time when discontents were at that terrible height of which we have just been speaking.

When Necker, who had been finance minister (which is similar to chancellor of the exchequer in England,) during the American war borrowed money, he did not lay on taxes to pay the interest, but paid one year's interest out of the money borrowed, the year after: this plan he had gone upon for his own popularity, at the same time that he wrote a book on French finances, which caused universal terror and discontents, for he represented the nation as ruined and oppressed, and predicted what certainly happened, viz. that his successors would not

find means to raise taxes sufficient to defray the expences.

When Necker went out, those who succeeded him in the finances had a very different task to perform, having at once the discontents of the people against them, and the physical difficulty of laying on fresh taxes in a country already overburthened, and this task fell to the share of Monsieur de Calonne.

M. de Calonne, attached to his king and country, and desirous of serving them, was imprudent and unskillful in the way of doing it. Precisely the reverse of M. Necker in his way of thinking and acting; and having been long covered with debts, he wanted that order, reputation, and external appearance, which are necessary both to conduct things, and to inspire confidence. Besides, he mistook the manner of serving his country; he wanted to imitate Colbert, when he should have endeavoured to imitate Sully.

Economy in the court, reforms of some abuses in the laws, and order in the finances, were what should have been first attended to. M. de Calonne, perhaps, despairing of bringing about that economy, wished, by encouraging trade and manufactures, to enable his country to bear those burthens, which want of economy rendered necessary. An attempt of this nature requires time to bring it to perfection, and tranquillity to allow its operations

operations to succeed; and the confused and discontented state of things afforded neither of the two; so that, unsupported by public confidence, which he did not take the way to acquire, M. de Calonne was obliged to abandon his projects, with the mortification of having by the attempt rather inflamed the wound which he meant to heal.

The dilemma of a minister who wished really to serve his country, but who had not in himself the means of doing it, made him advise his Majesty to assemble the **NOTABLES**, which is an assembly, as its name plainly indicates, of notable or chosen persons throughout the kingdom.

The assembly of notables, by its ancient rights, had only the privilege of advising and investigating, but could do no act of a legislative nature.

The nature of public assemblies, and the modes of managing them and leading them to an useful end, were totally unknown in a despotic kingdom, where, for many ages, none had existed. Each individual brought his own opinion, and many spoke it with vigour and boldness. Although the advantages that might have been expected from this assembly were not derived, yet, as it was the opinion of the majority of the members that an assembly of the *States General* could alone introduce order in the finances, and heal the

wounds of the state, their opinion was generally adopted; and, from this general belief, the remedy they proposed became more necessary than ever.

The almost universal spirit of innovation; the reforms which the Emperor Joseph had attempted, and was then attempting, in the Austrian Low Countries, and in his hereditary dominions, added to the other causes we have already spoken of, and of which we have yet to speak, contributed greatly to make the members of this assembly wish to see an amelioration effected in the order of things in France. They have been accused, and perhaps with some reason, of wishing individually to become members of the *States General*, when they should meet *not to advise, but to act*. This was natural enough; and, if in no other respects they had good intentions, it is difficult to see why they should be blamed for it. Let, however, the question of individual virtue and wisdom rest where it will, the result of all was this, that the discontents of the nation were greatly augmented by a remedy being pointed out for all their ills, which the court seemed unwilling to employ; the whole bulk of the people looked forward to this assembly of the states as the term of their woes; so that every day that it was retarded, added to the discontents and odium thrown upon the court and courtiers.

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In this state were the finances, and thus was public opinion, when M. de Calonne quitted his place, and soon after the kingdom. As it is our business to trace the causes of the discontents which laid the foundation for the sudden and total change of opinions in France, we shall not follow the Archbishop of Sens, who succeeded as prime minister, in his ridiculous attempt to arrange matters of finance, because that would be the history of the blunders of a man totally ignorant of what he was about: we shall only say, what thousands of living witnesses can attest, that an oppressed people found their miseries augmented in a two-fold manner by the prospect of a remedy, and by that remedy being withheld by a court, of which the expences and luxury were by no means concealed; a court, where the prodigality of Louis XIV. was equalled, but not imitated. Louis XIV. was great even in his follies; he was an encourager of merit and talents of every description, and by a kind of theatrical manœuvre, rendered his court the envy and admiration of all Europe. Louis XIV. was expensive and cruel upon the great scale where his ambition interfered; but if he was the scourge of the nation in which he was born, and of the age in which he lived, he was also their ornament; and his subjects bore with patience burthens which were conducive to the gratification of

their great national passion, vanity. The palace of Versailles was the grandest in Europe, and its gardens the most magnificent; the flatterers whom his bounty or vanity fed, compared his days with those of the Emperor Augustus, and in doing so, pleased the nation as much as they pleased the king. But the court of Versailles, in its latter days, had lost regard for public opinion, and with that had vanished those useful or brilliant qualities by which it is obtained.

Whilst those who profited by the ancient order of things seemed totally indifferent as to public opinion, and that to so great a degree, that one would have thought they were ignorant of its importance, those men who wished for a change, seemed instinctively to know which way to go to work; and not a stone was left unturned, and no method untried of converting all the errors of the court to advantage.

We must again observe, that the support given by the king of France to the Americans, when they threw off the yoke of this country, had also appeared in changing the opinions of the French with respect to their own government. The Americans were then still known in France by the name of the INSURGENTS; the king of France had supported them in their insurrection against their sovereign, and had aided them in establishing a republic. The moderation of the Americans in their success, the wise

wife laws which they had made; but above all, the example of men who had fully succeeded, operated strongly in favour of insurrection and republican principles. The advocates of the late virtuous and unfortunate monarch could not deny, that he had himself supported an insurrection, and been the principal friend of the American republic; and although there was a difference between the two cases, it admitted of a discussion which could not but be unfavourable to the king. Whilst some said that the Americans had been ill treated by England, and merited support, others argued that there never were any bastilles in America, nor any letters de cachet, nor any gabelle; that though America had a right to complain, France had a still greater right; and that the king who had supported the cause of liberty on the other side of the Atlantic, ought not to preserve the power of oppressing his own subjects. These arguments seemed pretty convincing; for nobody could say that there ever had been abuses in America that were in any shape to be compared to those in France. The advocates of the French monarch were thus reduced to silence; for either Louis XVI. acted wrong in supporting the cause of freedom, or the cause of freedom ought to be supported against Louis XVI. While this and other reasonings took place among a certain set of men, the

great majority of the people decided the matter by a very short mode: "Insurrection was in all cases," said they, "insurrection and liberty was liberty, and the king who kept from his own people what he had wasted their blood and treasure to procure for strangers, was a tyrant; and so it was lawful and right to force him to give them what they wanted."

Thus we have seen, that, previous to the revolution, every thing favoured a change, which therefore became unavoidable. We must next examine into the immediate cause of the violence of the change that so soon after took place.

First of all, it is to be observed, that though all parties wished for liberty, they were unacquainted with what *true freedom* is; the first principles of it were misunderstood, and therefore, while they were seeking liberty with all the energy which so good a cause inspires, it was not difficult for designing and ill-intentioned men to lead them far beyond the mark at which they wished to aim.

Of those ambitious and designing men who were inclined to mislead the people, and who had the means of doing it, the Duke of Orleans must be considered as the chief; possessed of revenues equal to royal, he was distinguished for most of those low vices (carried to a great excess) which are in general only to be found in the lower

class

class of vagabonds. Every rank in society has the vices natural to itself; but this Duke, as if to shew mankind what an assemblage of vice might be produced in the same person, had the vices of all the different ranks of society. First prince of the blood, he was a faithless and cowardly chief of a wicked faction; a bad husband to an excellent wife; a bad father; the murderer of a near relation, that he might inherit his fortune; given to every sort of knavery in regard to the tenants upon his estate; a gambler, without honour or integrity, and full of all the tricks practised by the lowest of the sort. He had but one crime to add to these, of which he was guilty, that of murdering his sovereign. An enemy to the king, whose personal character he disliked, as it was a reproach to his own, and to the queen, from motives of pride, he longed for an occasion to humble both. Far from being destitute of talents, possessing energy and activity, which are frequently allied to a bad disposition, he seized with alacrity and avidity the first moment of trouble, to put himself at the head of a party.

After many attempts to arrange the finances, but without success, it was at last resolved to recall Mr. Necker, in order to reconcile the people to the new taxes, or at least that he might by his influence with monied men procure a loan; and it is from this time that the Revolution ought properly to be dated;

as then it was, that the court lost all its power, and was completely in the hands of its enemies; for, from that day forward, the same faction which has since overturned every thing, began openly to cabal and to act; and though the heroes that we are now going to see strutting upon the stage, have been since massacred, guillotined, put to flight, or have perished by their own hands, that does not prove that they were not exactly of the same band with those who have guillotined them, or put them to flight; and in following them thro' their different windings, we shall prove that they were all *intrinsically the same*; that private interest and particular circumstances only have made a difference; that the same men assumed the guise of a philosopher or an assassin according as occasion required; and that the principles laid down by the first innovators, in the first moments of their power, led to the last and greatest crimes, of which, any of what we call the sect of Jacobins have been guilty.

CHAP. II.

Necker's administration of finance—His politics—His alliance with the Duke of Orleans—Popularity of the Duke—He puts himself at the head of the reformers and factious, and protects them—Election to the states general—Intrigues of the Duke—The Abbe Seyeyes elected—

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His pamphlet—Democratic principles circulated every where---Indolence of the other party.

FROM the time that Lewis the Sixteenth found himself compelled by public opinion, and his own necessities, to recall M. Necker, he was no longer the ruler of France; and what was still more, the whole tribe of courtiers lost their influence also, not with the king, but upon public affairs. M. Necker, too well acquainted with the urgent reasons of his recall, to be ignorant of his importance, or to fear his being dismissed, acted entirely as a master; not, indeed, in outward shew, for he affected a stiff and philosophical modesty and simplicity of manners: but in reality, his opinion was law, and the king was exactly reduced to the state of a bankrupt who had surrendered his effects to his creditors.

M. Necker found in the royal treasury, on his entering upon office as comptroller-general for the second time, only about sixteen thousand pounds sterling in cash, which was equal only to the current expenses of a few hours. As the most consummate ignorance of affairs was alone capable of having reduced the treasury to so empty a state, on his arrival it was soon replenished; not that M. Necker enjoyed the same confidence as when formerly in the same place in more prosperous times, but that he had sufficient credit and resource for any momentary supply.

This was in the month of August, in the year 1788: the recall of the banished members of parliament, and an apparent peace amongst parties soon succeeded. As the necessity of preserving M. Necker at the head of affairs was generally known, and as it was also well known that no danger was to be apprehended of being punished by him for any freedom of speech, or of the press, Paris became a sort of debating club; every opinion was discussed there, and every assertion hazarded with boldness and rashness, which plainly shewed that it was a new privilege to those who made so ill an use of it.

Although M. Necker was, properly speaking, minister of finance, he was, in fact, sole minister; or rather, if it had not been for the sake of form, he was the whole council, and the king was only there to lend *his* signature when it was wanted. If M. Necker had formerly suffered in his importance from not occupying a seat in council, he now was amply compensated, for he, in fact, occupied all the seats. The automata around were all moved by the man, to whom both king and people looked up for a deliverance from a state of very disagreeable embarrassment.

If there are persons, who yet recollecting the enthusiasm which the name of Necker once inspired, feel hurt at what has since happened to him, let them put their minds at ease; for M. Necker, by entering into

into a cabal with the Duke of Orleans, whose vices and villanies he well knew; has himself set the seal upon his boasted morality and virtue. The agents of the faction that opposed the court, promenaded the busts of the philosopher and the debauchee together; they were equally the idols of the people, and of the same portion of the people; they both spoke the same sort of language to the people, and appeared like two messengers of Heaven, sent down to cure the wounds of the state, and alleviate the miseries of individuals.

Amongst the strange propensities which the French carry to excess, is that of being led away by sound and show. Those who knew the two chiefs in question, compared them to the quack doctor and the merry andrew of a fair; and the similitude was not a bad one, for they completely duped the lookers on, by appearing what they never were, nor ever wished to be; and by giving them remedies that were worse than the disease.

M. Necker, it is certain, had enough of virtue and good intention to have preferred serving the people to doing them an injury, provided the one and the other had equally served his own ambition; but where-ever these two objects have come in competition, he has uniformly given the preference to what concerned most his own person. Though the two first heroes of insurrection were capable of act-

ing together at the beginning, yet it is not from that to be inferred, that their turpitude was equal; for between them there certainly was a wide difference; their conduct was the same while they thought their objects the same, but they were different. M. Necker did not conceal his object (though he concealed his measures as much as he could), which was a new order of things, more favourable to general liberty, over which he thought to preside. He had the vanity to imagine that public opinion would be always at his command, that he was to be the regenerator of France, and that the assembly of the states general would allow itself to be governed by him.

M. Necker knew the art of stock-jobbing well, and the intrigues of the court a little, but he knew nothing at all of his influence with the people, when they once should have no more use for his finance manœuvres, or when once the court should be humbled, and his assistance should be no longer necessary. No man in a time of political difficulty had less resource than Necker; he was clumsy, useless, and inconvenient, and consequently was the first public man whom the revolutionists discarded from their service with disgrace.

The Duke of Orleans, on the other hand, had no idea of establishing order, but disorder; "*Make the water muddy, said Philip, and I will fish in it.*" D'Orleans trusted

to his money, his intrigues, his agents, and his new-fangled popularity, for profiting of whatever chances a state of disorder might throw in his way. This was precisely the view of that immense number of innovators who so soon after appeared; all of them calculated right as to the first outset of the affair, but every one of them was mistaken as to the ultimate consequences. It was a picture, in which the immense revenues and riches of France were represented as wrested from the hands of the king and his feeble court, by men of energy and enterprize. The accumulated riches and honours of a thousand years lay all before them, and the means of possessing them seemed easy by the intervention of the good people of Paris, whose opinion was entirely in their favour. Pleased with the view of so rich a prospect, and giddy with such a variety of objects, *the eye did not perceive the GALLOWS and the GUILLOTINE, the PONIARD and the TORCH*, that were in the back ground. The people, obedient to their leaders when they commanded plunder, seemed to them a certain means of acquiring wealth and power; but they did not see that this same people would in the end turn against themselves, and tear from them the fruits of their first excesses. M. Necker, who thought he had influence enough to overturn the Christian religion, and establish another in its place,

and d'Orleans, who calculated that he could always rule the mob, were equally mistaken in the end: but in the first part of their experiments their road was the same, destruction of the present order was the object; and, in planning this, the latter months of 1788, and the beginning of 1789, were employed.

Whilst the two chiefs were occupied in this manner, a number of speculators in anarchy, acting either as subalterns, or for their own proper account, were busied in preparing to assist openly, as soon as things should be a little farther advanced.

The assembly *des amis des noirs*, under the appearance of ameliorating the state of their fellow-creatures in the West India islands, held meetings which had a very different object. This assembly, called Friends of the Blacks, might with more propriety have been termed the enemies of the whites: it was a school for equality and absurdity. There, people of different sexes, and of all ranks, might be admitted; but it was expressly forbidden to take off the hat or salute the company; so that Brissot and consorts, speculating on the revolutions they could bring on, and the plunder they could gain, were jumbled into one assembly with the virtuous Madame de la Rochfaucauld, without more ceremony than porters in the tap room of an ale-house.

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The state of senseless inactivity, and of stupid torpidity, into which men of rank and fortune had fallen, who no longer now made any noise, or appeared to be of any importance, left the field open to adventurers, who had occasion to speculate upon the public mind; and as credulity, and the disposition to adopt whatever is new, have always been known to predominate in Paris, it was therefore necessary to attract public attention by what was extraordinary: in the center from which most of the fashions, the customs, and rules of behaviour in modern Europe have come, it would have been difficult to establish any thing more new than a total disregard to every custom, and to every form, necessary not only for politeness but even for decency in society. The cloak of humanity and philosophy reconciled people to this in some degree, and they began to reason on the natural equality and artificial inequality of man; so that to the discontents occasioned by real evils, and the hopes of bettering their situation, people began to unite that sort of modern philosophy which has since led to such fatal extremes.

The great art of beginning commotions consists in seducing the minds of men by the appearance of what is good and virtuous, and of what will make them happy; but above all, of what suits the interest, or flatters the passions of the greater number. It was in correspondence

with this plan, that the words *liberty, equality, rights of man, humanity, virtue, friends and brothers, universal benevolence, &c.* were perpetually in the mouths of the first innovators. The people believed they saw a number of beneficent deities descended from heaven to give them happiness, and sell them bread and wine at half price; and consequently, they were prepared, whenever the occasion should offer, to aid and assist with all their might in a *reform*, (for the revolution was announced under that specious name) that promised so great an advantage, and which they considered as being founded upon right and justice.

With regard to M. Necker, as well as most of those who *worked* in the revolution, (to use their own expression, *travailler la revolution*) people are apt to attribute to design and to distant project what only arose from necessity or particular circumstances; and the proof of this is, that every one of the leaders of the revolution has fallen a sacrifice to the results of his own principles, which result was therefore not foreseen: another proof of the same thing arises from this, that the greater number seem to have had *no fixed plan, only to destroy order, and employ the occasion to advantage*. Thus the pickpocket creates a confusion in a crowd, and trusts to his own dexterity for the profits which he may reap from it. M. Necker was interested in humbling

bling the court, and rising as a sort of dictator between the king and people ; but he was interested, and that deeply too, in preserving the force of a government, the reins of which were in his own hands.

It was during the rigour of the winter of 1788—9, that M. Necker arranged his plan for the mode of assembling the states general ; fearing that if they were called in the ancient form, the nobility and clergy would prevent innovation : he gave it as his opinion, that the third state, as it was called, or the commons, should have a double representation ; that is, be represented by as many deputies as the other two.

Whilst mankind has been improving in arts, sciences, and, amongst others, the art of leading each other into errors by a false philosophy and metaphysical argument, we do not find that they have improved much in common sense ; there are even some reasons for thinking, that it is become more rare than it was formerly.—As common sense arises from the action of the mind upon itself, and upon the objects which naturally come before it, that methodical way in which people are brought up to speak about every thing, and to judge of every thing, hinders the mind from keeping itself company, as it were, and under the influence only of facts and observations forming a judgment. The old times, when the states general

were first instituted, are therefore not by any means to be despised ; and there seems to have been very great reason, since the state was composed of three different orders, to give each an equal share of power that it might preserve itself.

The states general, until now, had consisted of exactly equal numbers of deputies from the clergy, the nobility, and the third state or commons ; and it was upon overturning this mode, that M. Necker depended for humbling the court.

M. Necker was unwilling to take the responsibility and the consequence of this business upon himself ; he therefore advised calling a new assembly of the notables in order to regulate the method of calling the states general, hoping that it would be easy to make that assembly chuse the mode which he himself approved. In this, however, he was disappointed ; the notables did not think proper to determine it in his favour ; so that, after having called them together on purpose to follow their advice, he dismissed them on purpose to follow his own ; for he was of too obstinate a disposition to abandon his plan so easily.

The double representation of the third state having been resolved upon, letters for their election were expedited. M. Necker had published his reasons for changing the form, a precaution sufficiently useless, as the far greater

greater number wished it ; those who did not wish it had no means of opposing him ; and his reasons were too flimsy to convince any one. It was evident, that by giving double the number of voices to one party united in interest, the other two, who were not in one interest, must sink under the contest. That was precisely what every thinking man expected, and what M. Necker wished. He was the minister of the people, and he thought to govern their deputies as he had governed their king ; but he was not long before he discovered his mistake.

In the election of deputies every thing was against the court and the nobility. M. Necker, the minister who acted for the court, favoured the election of Protestants, of poor clergymen, and of lawyers ; in order the better to have them at his command, and in order to be the more certain of humbling the rich proprietor and dignified clergyman. In this last hope he was not deceived ; but in the former he was, as we shall soon see.

The Duke of Orleans, with his extensive lands, great revenues, and numerous dependents, made great efforts every where. Accustomed to intrigues, and surrounded with men who were so too, he succeeded wonderfully in a country where election manœuvres, so disgraceful to those that employ them, were little known. As the manœuvres at a horse-race and at an election are very much

of one stamp, the duke, who was always surrounded by jockies, gamblers, and men of such description, succeeded pretty well.—He was also grand master of the order of masonry, and had, by that means, a good opportunity, at a very small expence, of giving a bias to the elections in different parts.

The lovers of change, having all the same cant phrases at command throughout the kingdom, easily knew each other ; and, as if by a sort of sympathy, without any previous arrangement, they lent aid to each other ; so that in the election matters, the great majority was on the side of reform and change.

Great, however, as all the efforts and exertions of M. Necker and the duke were, they never could have had any considerable degree of success, had the proprietors of lands and the dignified clergy set seriously about getting themselves chosen ; but they neglected this opportunity of serving their country entirely, whether through ignorance of the necessity of exertion, through indolence, or trusting to some other method of preserving their weight in the state, or to a combination of all the three, the fact was exactly as it is related ; persons were represented, but property was not ; and as property cannot protect itself, the ruin which it has experienced is not any great reason for astonishment.

Amongst

Amongst the deputies who were by the duke's interest elected to the states general, was a man who, to the cause of anarchy, was worth an host; a man of taciturnity, cold disposition, a clergyman with much erudition, but no religion; cruel and a metaphysician, determined to stick at nothing to advance his fortunes, and capable of laying deep plans and guiding their execution. Such a man was the Abbé Seyeyes, elected deputy for Paris, to fill up the last place that was vacant.

When deputies were chosen, it was the ancient custom, and was still adhered to, for the electors to draw up their intentions and their wishes in the form of instructions, which were called *CAHIERS*; these were intended as a rule for the conduct of the representatives, and by a comparison of the different cahiers, by extracting and comparing their contents, the real wishes of the nation might have been known.

The duke of Orleans, by his situation, had a right to give a cahier to some of the deputies chosen on his estates, and it was there that he made his great stroke at popularity. The Abbé Seyeyes was said to have composed it, and it is more than probable that he did so; but whoever was its author, the duke gave the example of the first prince of the blood standing up the advocate of the rights of the people against his own interest. Those who knew his real character vented exclamations of wonder at

his villanous duplicity; and those who knew him not, were as much astonished at his virtue and philanthropy. The lower class were in ecstasy, and he obtained by his popularity amongst the fish-women and sellers of fruit, the title of King of the Markets, (*Roi des Halles*) which, to those who know Paris, will appear equivalent to king of the rabble.

Previous to the opening of the states general, when public expectation and anxiety were wound to its highest pitch, a pamphlet made its appearance, written by the Abbé Seyeyes, composed with much art, plausibility, and false reasoning, and entitled, *What is the third state?* This title plainly implied the question of the importance of the people at large.—“The third state,” says he, in this pamphlet, “is at present as “nothing—it ought to be every “thing, and it only wants to be “something.”

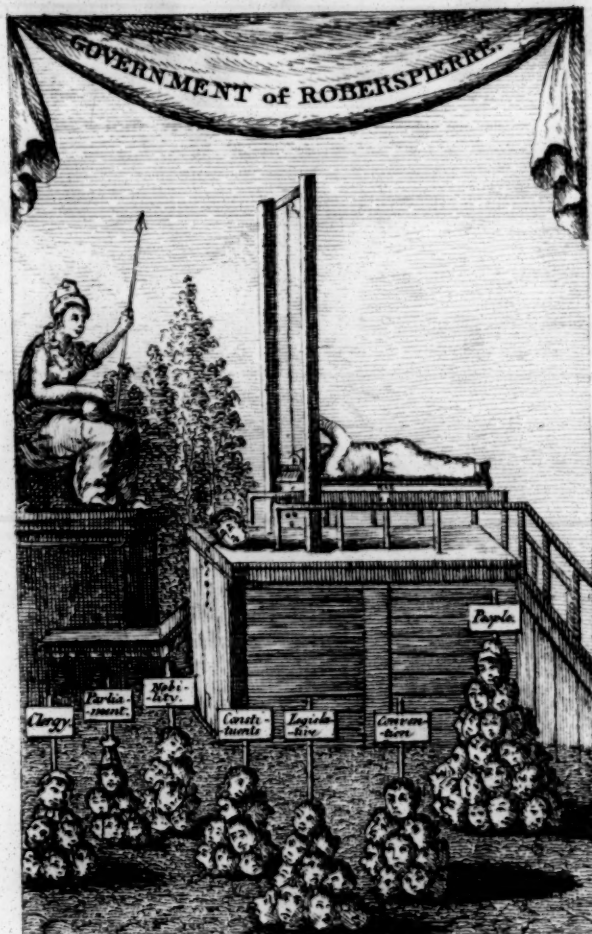
Such a pamphlet, printed and spread abroad with the money of the duke, at so important a period, and when men were yet unused to inquiries of this sort, could not but excite great notice; it was accordingly considered as a master-piece of argument and philosophy, and Monsieur l'Abbé was considered as the most profound metaphysician of the age, the ablest statesman, and the most liberal-minded writer who had ever enlightened the human race.

(To be continued in our next.)

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REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT
Brought to Perfection!
Or, SANSOM the Public Executioner of Paris,
finding no more to Guillotine!
 Guillotines himself.

LIVES AND CHARACTERS.

WE have thought proper to begin with the life of ROBESPIERRE, not through any design to augment the detestation which the Reader may feel towards the Heroes of the Revolution, but as being the *only* man that has actually, during the whole of it shewn himself in his true colours, uncovered and uncontrouled.— He was in the year 1789, 90 and 91, reckoned a true patriot, but of *too humane* a character to serve his country effectually. The same men who judged thus of him, called Louis XVI. a tyrant; such are the errors into which men run, when they mistake words for things, and give that credit to patriotic declarations which should only be given to virtuous actions. In all revolutions, we find *the man who flatters the passions of the people, does it only to deceive them, and that he conceals the mind of a despotic demon, under the appearance of a plain patriot.* “THIS RULE,” HISTORY SAYS, “IS ALMOST WITHOUT EXCEPTION.”

The LIFE and CHARACTER of ROBESPIERRE.

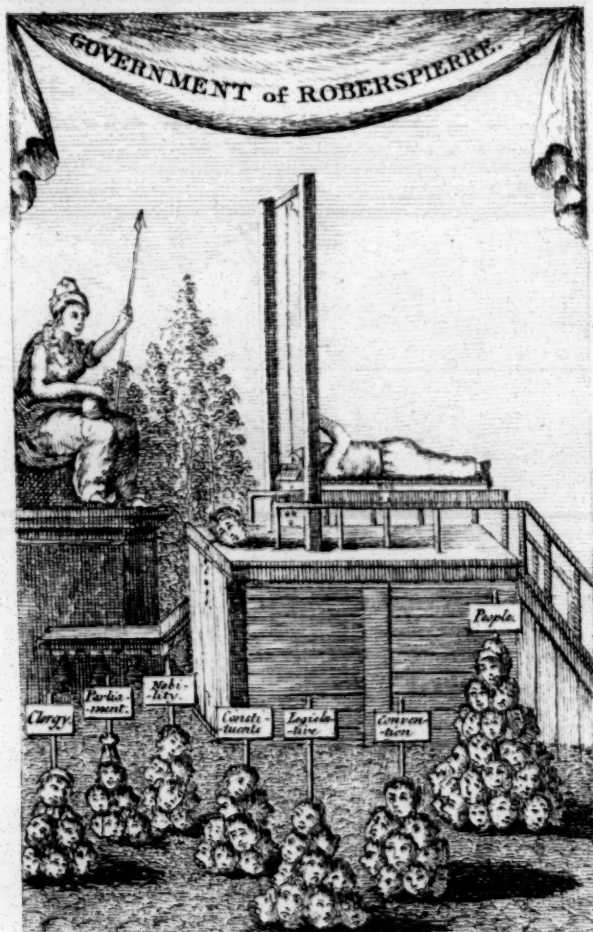
MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE, was born in the town of Arras, (formerly so famous for its wove tapestry,) in the year 1759, and was named after his father, who was an *Avocat* or Pleading Counsel in the courts of the province of Artois, of very slender abilities, who had but little employment in his profession, and little esteem from his neighbours, and being of a deranged turn of mind, he all at once left his family, abandoning his wife, two sons, (of whom Maximilian was the elder), and two daughters, to charity and chance for their future existence.

The route which the father took has never been with certainty discovered, but it is generally believed, that he went at last to the

East or West Indies; and it is certain that his family never had any accounts of him from the day that he disappeared.

A few years after this, when Robespierre was only about nine years of age, his mother died and left the four orphans to be supported by two aunts, who were far from wealthy, and by their grandfather by the mother side, who was a brewer of beer in Arras.

The singular circumstance of a father going off, and leaving a family in this deplorable manner, procured the good offices of many of the people of the town to rear and educate the forsaken children; and as education is exceedingly cheap, Robespierre was taught a little Latin, and becoming through



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a laudable pride, a tolerable good and indefatigable scholar; a *bursary* was procured for him at one of the colleges of Paris, where he might complete his education.

From the time that he was of an age to shew his disposition, this youth was remarked for a certain closeness of disposition and stiff pride, and above all, mistrust and fear lest his companions should know his real thoughts or designs.

He was always remarkable for laying plots to mortify and deceive his companions, and seemed to be instinctively a conspirator before he had attained the age to become one by age or reflexion.

The most successful mode of knowing his mind was by flattery, even in his younger days, and to question him was the certain way of knowing nothing. He liked to go well dressed, and to shew contempt for other boys who were better clothed than himself, at the same time that he was haughty and rough to those who were only his equals.

Taciturn from his infancy, he quarrelled perpetually with his brother and sisters for being more loquacious than himself, and he treated them with contempt, and reproach on most occasions.

In the year 1770, this young Robespierre arrived in Paris, at the college of St. Vaast, one of the 24 colleges joined to that of Louis le Grand, after the suppression of the order of Jesuits. In this

new situation the indefatigable attention to his studies, which had made him noticed at Arras, distinguished him again; but the ambition of being the best at his studies, was the only one perceivable in him; for he never attempted to distinguish himself by any of those amiable qualities which are esteemed amongst all men, but particularly amongst the younger part of society.

He was a good scholar, obstinate and vain, without morality or virtue, which he affected to despise, at the same time that he did not openly offend against them; his chief pleasure was in shewing himself independent of others, and mortifying them by sarcastic sneers whenever an occasion offered.

Every thing is worth noticing in a man who has carried depravity of character farther than any other that ever existed, and therefore it is not undeserving remark, that Robespierre was equally averse to the gay amusements of the other boys, and to the duties of religion with which the youth in the French seminaries are indeed too much fettered: in the former case, he refused to join in the gaiety of his companions, and in the latter, a sullen and passive conduct was all that was to be obtained; and had not his immoderate self-love, and fear of laying himself open to censure, prevented his openly refusing to comply with the rules of the college, there is little doubt but that he

he would have done so; for as soon as a change that took place in the college, left him a little more at liberty, he openly set himself against all sort of religious exercises.

A disposition that hated all superiority, and all superiors, was one of the most marked lines of this young man's character. To be his master was sufficient to become his enemy, and he persecuted all those, who by their complaisance, and obliging manners, seemed to court the favour of their superiors. To be a *benefactor* was, with Robespierre, the next great crime after that of being a master, and Monsieur l'Abbé Proyard, one of the professors of the college, was both. This gentleman, to whom Robespierre had been recommended, having perceived visible marks of poverty in the extreme, applied for some pecuniary aid for him to the good bishop of Arras, and was not denied, though the bishop observed, that he had frequently heard speak of the young man as being studious, but not virtuous; to which the professor answered, it was true, but that probably a little time would work a change.

Charity does not long hold a contest with want and misery; so the bishop continued to be useful to the young viper, who was one day to take a terrible *revenge* for that unsufferable distinction of rank and fortune which put him in need of aid, and gave to others the power of aiding.

A letter written by Robespierre on one particular occasion is worth preserving.

To Mr. L'ABBE PROYART, at
St. Denis.

"SIR, Paris, April 11, 1778.

"I learn that the bishop of Arras is in Paris, and I wish much to see him, but have not a coat in which I can go out; besides which, I want several other things, and I hope you will take the trouble to come and explain this my situation to him, that I may obtain what I want, in order to appear in his presence.

"I am with respect,

"Sir,

"Your very humble servant,

"DE ROBESPIERRE."

The man who since then has sent half the clergy of France into the other world, was thus not above 17 years ago in this humble and dependent situation; and it is a terrible reflection on human nature that so much ingratitude and ferocity are to be found in man.

When, during the vacation, the Abbé Proyard was at Arras, of all the students of the college who did not wait upon him, Robespierre was the only one, although he was also the most obliged of any.

The vanity of dress was, whilst at college, one of the marked propensities of Robespierre; though most of his companions, to save expence, wore no powder in their hair,

he had himself dressed out elegantly *as to the head*, when his coat and shoes were pierced with holes ; an error into which the most consummate vanity, joined to a total ignorance of what is decent and proper, could alone have led any one.

It is a curious circumstance, that in the year 1775, when Louis XVI. after the coronation, made his entry in state into Paris, with the queen ; and on his passage was waited upon by the professors and students of the college, this young monster was pitched upon to repeat before the king some complimentary verses, composed for the occasion, which his majesty received with much good nature and condescension.

Though those who have written the anecdotes and life of Robespierre, have in general considered him as a man of inferior talents, yet they seem to have been mistaken ; otherwise, with his indigence, and other disadvantages, in a college, where the career was open to all, it is extraordinary that he should be honoured in this case with the preference : indeed we may safely say, it is impossible that it could be so, unless he had been in fact a man both of abilities and industry.

Our young dictator avoiding the study of the difficult sciences, attached himself with eagerness to the philosophy that, for the last half century, has been gaining ground. This, and the study of

the eloquence of the bar, such as it then was in Paris, filled up the remainder of his time, until he returned to Arras to follow out the profession of advocate which was that of his father.

He first took up residence in the house of one of his aunts, who had married a doctor. But his first attempts at the bar were without any of that success which his vanity made him hope for ; and his constant attempts to shine made him both ridiculous and disgusting. In vain did he attempt to get employment amongst the clergy, the gentry, or respectable people of the town and province ; his vanity and bad heart were well known to many, and suspected by all.

Frustrated in his attempts to get good and respectable business to do, he set to work to protect the guilty, and became the advocate and defender of the vicious and the wicked ; and still, not having sufficient occupation for his restless mind, he formed to himself imaginary causes, on which he wrote memorials subversive of morality, religion, and the order of society. He wrote in defence of the plurality of wives, and the legitimacy of adulterous bastards, and by a sort of mixture of modern philosophy, with derangement of moral principles, he attacked that useful prejudice which attaches infamy to the criminal who suffers under the hands of public justice.

Robespierre

Robespierre, nevertheless, found means to become member of the academy of Arras; an honour no doubt, though not a very great one; yet it still is a proof that he not only had abilities, but also the means of making them subservient to his ambition and vanity.*

Indigent in reality, Robespierre affected as other vain men generally do, a contempt for ease and riches, and an austerity of life which he never quitted intirely, when more at his ease, and which he again betook himself to when ruling lord and master of all France.

The revolution, which began with the assembly of the states general, opened a new career of ambition for this laborious, indefatigable, but unsuccessful advocate, who had neither friends nor fortune, and who would acknowledge no master, nor could brook any superior; and who, even whilst unable to obtain common attention to his pleading at the bar at Arras, had been heard to say, that he aspired to the most honourable employment in the parliament of Paris.

When the assembly of the states general was called, the people of property and importance in the provinces did not seem to have perceived the necessity of getting themselves chosen; and as the general spirit of the times favoured the choice of men of low circum-

stances, Robespierre, like many other provincial advocates, procured himself to be chosen. To endeavour, as has been done, to prove that Robespierre procured his honour by mean and low intrigue, and by flattering the passions of the lowest of the people, would be absurd; for though it were true, as it probably is, it is only what all the others did, and what men in similar situations always will do.

It is an absurdity in those who start back with horror at the relation of the crimes and atrocities of Robespierre, to endeavour to rob him of every sort of merit; for if he had not had any, how was he to have foreseen the importance and advantages of making such a struggle? or what is still more, have found the means of doing it? as money, which in general is the main spring, made no part of his means.

Robespierre, without a thorough knowledge of mankind, judged of others by himself: vain and loving to be flattered, he was a great flatterer, rendering evil for good, and doing services only when impelled by fear or interest; he counted not upon any man's friendship, but always upon his interest, and viler passions. With such a creed, concerning the human character, in moderate or virtuous times, Robespierre was formed for remaining below mediocrity; but when the whole nation was, as if by magic, converted into a bear garden, where

* It was by flattering a M de Joffeux, the professor of rhetoric, and member of the academy, that Robespierre became a member.

where the ferocity and violence of the combatants was equalled by their bad faith and ingratitude, Robespierre was equally qualified to ride aloft; for he had painted men in his own idea before the revolution, just as they happened to become after it began; so that he was at once, and for once perfectly in his element.

On the point of setting out for Paris, our dictator found that he had no money to pay his fare in the Diligence, nor even a trunk in which he could put his clothes; however, by the means of one of his sisters, he procured 10 louis d'ors and a trunk, only about two hours before the time that he must have set out on foot, in order to become the dictator and despotic ruler of France.

What reflections arise here to the thinking mind, on the vicissitudes and changeable nature of human affairs! In the month of May 1789, we see an obscure individual, reduced to the necessity of borrowing a few guineas and a trunk* in order

* At ten o'clock on the evening that Robespierre set out for Paris, he had not yet received the 10 louis d'ors, nor the trunk: his things had previously been packed up in a bundle, and were taken down to put in the trunk. The effects were as follow:—

A black coat, a good deal worn.
A second-hand dyed black velveret coat.
A satin waistcoat, almost new.
An old waistcoat of Rag de St. Maur.
A pair of black cloth breeches,
Ditto, velveret, ditto, very old.
Six shirts, stockings, and pocket handkerchiefs, pretty good.
Three pair of silk stockings, one pair almost new.
Two pairs of shoes, one of which new, shoe brushes and shaving things.
Papers, &c. filled the rest of the trunk.

to accomplish his journey to Paris in a wretched Diligence, not so good as an English broad-wheeled waggon, and at the same time, we see the brilliant and heedless court of Louis XVI. almost at as much pains to destroy itself, as those intriguing men, who were arriving in wretched Diligences from all parts of France, were to destroy it. Louis XVI. had no bad intentions, and he judged of others by himself, and imagined that all those whom he called together meant to labour for the good of the kingdom. The people thought so too, but Robespierre and his companions knew better, and soon let the world see that their own affairs, and not those of the nation, engrossed their attention.

Such were the relative situations of the king and Robespierre in May 1789, and before May 1793, Robespierre had beheaded the king, and put all the nobility of the kingdom to death, into a prison, or to exile, and he commanded as sovereign and uncontrouled master the whole of France, in which there was not a shilling of property, nor a single person, that was not at his disposal. The queen and royal family were in a prison, from which he cruelly dragged them out, or let them remain, as it suited his own views or caprice. Since the revolutions in the Roman Empire, we have no examples of any things similar to this, and even then, nothing equal to it.

It

It is on viewing such strong vicissitudes of fortune that the mind of man is imperiously called upon to deep reflection, and even the most giddy and unthinking cannot avoid asking how it happened that such a change would take place!

This question is equally important to kings and to people. A mild monarch was dethroned to make place for the greatest monster that ever ruled over men, or disgraced humanity; and yet the acclamations of the people were heaped upon the monster who was so prodigal of their blood, and who had loaded a humane monarch with curses! Is this natural, is this the disposition of man, will it be asked? No; it is not human nature acting under its ordinary impulse, but under the baneful influence of mad enthusiasm, and false philosophy. The French people had given its confidence to scoundrels and hypocrites, till it was too late for them to withdraw it; and they were obliged at last to applaud through fear, those whom they had elevated from choice, and now submitted to from necessity. It is an awful lesson to men in society to find, that there are amongst them those, who, rising from low situations by the confidence of their fellow-citizens, only become more ambitious and insatiable as they are advanced.

When Robespierre arrived in Paris, he found several of his an-

cient companions of the college ready to commence a revolutionary career, as journalists and intriguers, under the guidance of Mirabeau, and the faction of the Duke of Orleans: so that, besides his situation as deputy to the assembly, he found several supporters: the same intrigue which had served him at Arras in a small circle, served him now on the large field of the nation.

When Robespierre came to Paris he began by affecting to be a great man, and he imitated the celebrated Franklin by wearing spectacles, and the Count de Mirabeau by having his head powdered in a grand style; but with all this, he soon discovered that his talents as a politician and an orator were of an inferior cast, and that he was not calculated to be the chief of a party; he therefore, determined to attach his fortunes to those of them who seemed the most able, and this man was Mirabeau himself, a man qualified in every respect to shine in such dangerous and difficult times.

Robespierre followed Mirabeau into all public places, and seated himself near him in the assembly, flattering his patron on all occasions, and endeavouring to borrow some of that reputation which Mirabeau so soon acquired when the revolution began. Our hero was at that time known by the name of *ape of Mirabeau* in Paris, and in the newspapers, as the former was called the *flambeau of Provence*, (for

(for which he was deputy), Robespierre was called the candle of Arras; implying that the one was a great luminous body, and the other a sort of little *rush light*.

But what Robespierre wanted in talents was fully supplied by this single circumstance, that he had no heart, and consequently none of his projects ever failed from humanity, or balancing between his own interest and that of others.

With all that activity of a criminal ambition, and that constant industry which had, during his whole life, distinguished him, Robespierre was well calculated for shining in the Jacobin Club, of which he very soon became one of the principal members and conductors, and he in a particular manner distinguished himself in contriving the persecution and rage of the clergy.

Arras was inhabited by a religious sort of people, so that *Monsieur le Député* had but little honour in his own country, to which he did not dare to return; though in order to deceive his constituents, he for once ventured to espouse the cause of the clergy, by saying, "that priests were men, and even citizens as well as priests, and therefore he reclaimed for them the rights of humanity." This reclamation in the mouth of the chief persecutor of the servants of the church was received with contempt, and produced no effect as was expected and intended, but it served him as a means of contradicting the report

of his irreligion, which had so much offended the people of Arras.

A report of his persecution of the church having been inserted in a daily paper, the hypocrite wrote to the journalist to contradict the accusation, and to assert his *respect for religion*. The journalist, instead of contradicting the report, played him a trick, and inserted the letter word for word in his journal; so that Robespierre was in a worse scrape than ever, being in danger of losing the confidence of the *Jacobin Club*. Robespierre excused himself, by saying, that the people of his province, were such religious fanatics, that in order to serve the common cause the better, he was obliged to counterfeit religion, and in his explanation, he added to Pétion, then one of the leading men, "*You know what I do, and therefore you ought not to mind what I say.*"

Guided solely by ambition, unrestrained by any sentiments of honour, justice, or humanity; and not even restrained by that love of pleasure which made Mirabeau and other Jacobins wish to acquire a fortune and enjoy it, Robespierre was perpetually for the most violent and extreme measures, flattering the people with equality and the spoils of the rich.—By this conduct alone he eclipsed the Lameths, Barnave, M. Dandré, and those original leaders of the club who had at first eclipsed him; so that Robespierre became one of the principal men; and he and Pétion were

crowned with a crown of oak leaves, and drawn home by the rabble, being placed upon the top of a hackney coach, while the air resounded with the acclamations; *Behold, said they, the friend of the people—the defender of liberty.*

This triumphal procession of the friend of the people, (who afterwards guillotined so many of them), who, as it has long since been allowed by all stifled and destroyed liberty entirely, took place on the last day of the first national assembly, after which Robespierre became a private man again, * when he redoubled his attention to the affairs of the Jacobin Club, at the same time that he became one of the writers of a newspaper, called the DEFENDER OF THE CONSTITUTION, at which Rabant de St. Etienne also laboured.

At this time Robespierre pretended to moderate principles in favour of mixt monarchy, the hypocrisy of which pretension cannot be disputed now, as he acted in direct opposition to nuns, as soon as he found himself at liberty to do it. Petion, the friend of Robespierre, was mayor of Paris, and one of the principal agents in


* Robespierre had been named judge in a criminal tribunal, but never acted; the reason for which has never yet been in a very satisfactory manner explained.

the destruction of monarchy on the 10th of August, 1792; but until the fighting was over, we do not find our hero taking any very active part, though he was behind the curtain one of the most chief advisers and contrivers, as well as of the attack made on the king on the 20th of June in his palace.

After the 10th of August the life of Robespierre and the history of France became inseparable: he assisted in those councils which led to the massacres of September, where so many thousands of innocent persons fell victims to the cruelty of the few, and the cowardice of the many.

In the life of Robespierre it would be useless, in this work, to give those parts which will come much more properly in the general history, with which they are so directly connected; we shall therefore pass lightly over these things which shall then be told at length, when the reader will be acquainted with all the actors as well as with this chief workman.—Robespierre still continued to propose or to second the most violent measures, and to be the friend of all those who could or would aid him; but the moment they ceased to co-operate, or that they became his rivals, he determined on their destruction.

(To be continued in the next.)



INTRODUCTION

TO THE

ANECDOTES.

AS it would be impossible in the body of History to intersperse the numerous and interesting anecdotes which France has furnished during the Revolution; yet as those should by no means be lost to posterity, and far less be unnoticed by the present age, we have thought proper to give them in a detached manner, and without any regular connection.

The instant that the facts are not given in their place in History, as each fact is to be taken by itself, we do not see any rule to be guided by in the order, in which they ought to follow; but it must appear always necessary to mention, at what period of the Revolution they happened; because, during the six years which it has lasted, there has been a number of different species of enthusiasm reigned in France, and each time furnishes anecdotes consonant to the reigning disposition of the moment. Thus, for example, the first nine months of the Revolution, the ancient grievances were talked of; such as, the game laws, privileges of the nobility, and riches of the clergy, together with the heaviness of the taxes, and luxury of the court: when all these, however, were at an end, the people began to speak of abolishing nobility: no taxes were paid, and the private fortunes of the princes, and revenues of the clergy were openly attacked. This lasted about nine months longer. The King began at last to be considered as the servant of the nation, and to be treated accordingly. A republic began then to be talked of; but the constitution being at that time finished, the project was put off a few months longer, during which time law and constitution were considered as sacred by all those who had got the upper hand in the new order of things; but the war carried on against them and the sacred duty of insurrection soon put an end to this.

At the end of about two years and a half, an universal republic was talked of; and though bread and wine got dearer every day, yet the reformers of mankind did not let their courage be copied by such trifling circumstances. The 10th of August brought on a new system and new manner of conversing: the sansculottes, or people in rags, became the sovereigns; and rich, or decent clothing, became criminal, so that by degrees religion and every thing sacred were hooted and laughed to scorn. *More blood* was the order of the day; and treason, vengeance, and denunciation were uppermost with every one.

Those who had demanded to be electors in 1789, and had obtained their demand, were now thrust out of the assemblies, in order to make room for their breechless brothers; who, with clubs, had superseded bayonets, and who esteemed a ragged coat more than an embroidered epaulet.

From this time there were only two sets of people in the country—the oppressors and the oppressed. Terror reigned throughout, and on the one side there were arbitrary and wanton cruelty, and on the other, trembling submission. Unity and indivisibility were talked of, and the cries of “long live death, long live the guillotine,” were heard from those trembling wretches, who vainly expected by their abject submission to escape destruction. This dark and gloomy period was succeeded by some return to reason, and men begun to breathe a little more freely after the tyrant fell. They now talked of their former misery under the terrible tyrant, and looked forward for repose under a more moderate order of things. The Jacobins were now hunted like wild beasts, as they had themselves hunted other citizens; and their reign seems to have been nearly ended from the month of May last; but still, peace, order, and plenty, are as far distant as ever, and law and liberty are still unknown.

It is under those various revolutionary epochs that we mean to arrange the anecdotes, dividing the revolution, as under:

1st reign from July 14th, 1789, till June 1790, 11 months.

2d reign from May, 1790, till October 1791, being about one year and five months.

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3d reign,

3d reign from October 1791, till the 10th of August, 1792, being about 10 months.

4th reign from the 10th of August, 1792, till the 31st of May, 1793, being that of the Brissotine faction in power, about 9 months.

5th reign, that of *terror*, of Robespierre, from the 31st of May, 1793, till the 27th of July, 1794, being 13 months.

6th reign, that of Talien Legendre and others, from the 27th of July, 1794, till the 27th of October, when the convention ended, being 15 months.

7th reign, that of five heads for the executive power, and two assemblies for the legislative; being the same which still exists, with a limited authority, and a mutual controul of the one portion over the other.

There have, then, been seven divisions in the revolution, with respect to the principles by which those who ruled have been governed: the anecdotes related will therefore be classed under the reign in which they happened; that being an old established custom, both in sacred and profane history.

Having laid aside order in the anecdotes, we think it proper to give some of those of the advanced periods of the revolution first; and if the great majority of facts tend to throw shame on the French nation, and disgrace the revolution, it is not our fault; but will be a proof that the nation has been conducted by interested men, who, for their private ends, led them on from one crime to another; as ever was, and ever will be the case in revolutions.

The following facts which are proved to have taken place at Nantz, by the interrogation of witnesses in a Court of Justice, will give an idea of France, during the Reign of Terror. As their authenticity is indisputable, we give them place here.

THOSE who had been the agents or accomplices of the cruelties of Carriere at Nantz, were tried before the revolutionary tribunal at Paris; as from every circumstance their culpability is evident, a few extracts are all that it is sufficient to give, on purpose to form an idea of the manner in which France is governed.

Different witnesses, Lereque, Perochot, Haler, Joly, and Main-guet,

guet, confessed that they had participated in the horrible scenes and cruelties committed on the prisoners. They confessed they had signed orders for shooting and for drowning prisoners without any motive; 162 priests were pillaged of all their effects, and stripped naked: their executioners divided the spoils amongst themselves. The most insatiable avarice, unexampled ferocity, and immeasurable ambition, a desire of giving a scope to private vengeance, a singular taste for licentious feasts, are not the only things with which the members of the revolutionary committee are to be reproached: these monsters attacked the virtue of wives and daughters, and, to obtain mercy for fathers and husbands, it was necessary to submit to their sensual brutality. A company of troops, called the company of Marat, composed of the vilest dregs of the people, was entrusted with the power of life and death, and exercised the most terrible and unheard-of cruelties.

Trongon Coudray, in pleading before the tribunal, says, "Many of the accused are ignorant, but not guilty; you ought to shew all Europe, and the coalesced tyrants, what a true patriot is, and how he is favoured by just laws."

One hundred fanatical priests, says he, who ought to have been transported, were stripped naked, put into a boat with a valve that opened to let in the water, and

were drowned. That boat has served for many drownings. The new word of *Noyades* was invented to distinguish new crimes. That rigorous conduct has, perhaps, reduced the rebels of the Vendée to despair, and prolonged the war with them.

You will not forget, that Philippes Tronc Joly, who is accused, was the only one, during all this time, in the city of Nantz, who devoted himself to the good of his country, without fear of attacking the revolutionary committee.

On the 14th of Frimaire the revolutionary tribunal, of which Philippes was the president, condemned to death six conspirators; their execution was delayed; and it was deliberated, whether it would not be better to put all the prisoners to death in a mass. Philippes opposed himself to that, saying, that the prisoners must be judged, that he was their defender until such time as the law found them guilty. Next day the committee deliberated again on making all the prisoners perish in a mass; Philippes again opposed it and withdrew. He was then called by Goulin *the counter-revolutionary president*.

On the 13th arrived an order to shoot the prisoners, of whom not one had been condemned to death; twenty had only been imprisoned the night preceding, and some were already acquitted.

The temporary commandant of Nantz opposed himself to the execution

cution of that order, and denounced it to the administrators.

On the 21st, a new scene was acted at *the house of justice*. The committee had a Bacchanalian feast; Goulin pulled from his pocket a packet of string, and approaching the prisoners tied their hands, and from thence they were conducted with strokes of fables to the harbour; they went into the fatal boat, the valve is opened, and they are swallowed up.

Women with child were likewise swallowed up in the *Loire*; children of seven, eight, nine, and ten years of age shared the same fate. Some of the children were given away, others were drowned, apparently because they considered them as young wolves, who in time might have fought against their tyrants.

Phillippes opposes himself to these cruelties, but in vain. He is told, that the members of the committee, in order to have the appearance of justice, amuse themselves with drawing lots for the life and death of the prisoners. The white balls gave them life, and the black ones delivered them to the executioner.

In this manner perished innocent generations, without even any certificate of their death. Tell me, says he, barbarous men, how will you restore to the country, women who would have brought forth defenders of liberty, and children, who, in time, would have fought against the satellites of tyrants?

Phillippes received orders on the 27th and 29th of Frimaire to guillotine fifty-five brigands seized with arms in their hands; he remonstrated, and received more positive orders: amongst those brigands were children of thirteen and fourteen years of age, and seven women. The executioner died two days after with grief, for having guillotined these women.

On the 25th Germinal, when too many truths were likely to come to light, Moreau de Grandmaison, a fencing-master and member of the revolutionary committee, threatened to denounce Phillippes as a federalist; he was accordingly denounced, and sent to the revolutionary tribunal at Paris, tied during the journey to a criminal who had been condemned to death.

I am informed that 144 women, considered as suspicious, who were confined in Nantz, and who worked at making shirts for the soldiers of the country, were conducted to the fatal boat, and swallowed by the waves.

The quantity of dead bodies thrown into the Loire was so great, that the river was infected to such a degree, as to make it necessary to forbid the use of its water to the inhabitants of Nantz, and to forbid them from fishing in it.

Sanguinary men have said, that all this was done to save the country. Tiberius and Louis XI. thought that certain cases required severity, but their satellites never ventured

ventured to do such things without the order of their masters.

It is sufficient, citizens, to have thrown your eyes over the accusers and the accused, to be convinced that it was the guilty who accused the innocent. But we shall know how to bind down those sanguinary men who wish to transform us into hangmen. Revolutionary justice excuses error, and protects innocence.

Philippe Tronc Joly, and his ninety-three companions of misfortune, were acquitted of counter revolutionary intentions, and set at liberty.

Extracts of the trial of fourteen members of the above-mentioned revolutionary committee at Nantz.

Act of Accusation.

" Michael Joseph Lebbois, Jean Jaques Goulin, Pierre Cauz, &c. are sent before the revolutionary tribunal of Paris, this 14th of October (23d Vendemaire) as being accused of arbitrary proceedings, dilapidations, thefts, brigandages, abuse of authority, and of having condemned people to death, as it appears from the interrogations which they have undergone, the declaration of witnesses joined to the papers addressed to the public accuser.

" All that the most barbarous cruelties, all that the most perfidious crimes, all that the most arbitrary authorities, all that the most frightful *concessions*, and all that the

most revolting immorality could possibly suggest, compose the act of accusation against the members and commissaries of the revolutionary committee of Nantz.

" In the history of the world, from the most ancient times, and in the most barbarous ages, it is scarcely possible to find any actions equal in atrocity to the horrors committed by the accused.

" Nero was less sanguinary, Phalaris less barbarous, and Syphanes less cruel.

" These immoral beings sacrificed to their passions honour and probity; *they talked of patriotism*, but they stifled it; terror went before their steps, and tyranny was seated in the midst of them.

" Liberty, the first of blessings, that sweet present of nature, which was re-established in France after being banished for many centuries; liberty had fled from the banks of the Loire; the uncertain traveller entered trembling into that city which first founded the tocsin of liberty; he no longer found it peopled with those republicans who first dared to attack that frightful hydra which took refuge in the morasses of Brittany. He knew now no longer those heroes who first planted the tree of liberty at Rennes. Nothing was to be seen but unfortunate fathers imploring for death, and distracted mothers calling for their children. Such was the work of the accused, who called themselves the only patriots.

" Arbitrary

“ Arbitrary taxation and horrible concussions had ruined the people of Nantz, commerce languished, riches were a title of proscription, and they coolly calculated the gain that they should make by the death of their victims. Their hirelings marked with chalk the houses of the victims of their cruel and fordid avarice; they seized on their riches, and divided them among themselves. Nantz was not the only theatre of these crimes; the whole department was over-run by their emissaries. Fortune alone was not sufficient for them to attack; the power of life and death was exercised, and persons were sent to the scaffold who had not been judged or even accused.

“ All these atrocities were but the forerunners of greater crimes: impatient at the slowness of justice, the committee knew no longer any bounds to its cruel barbarity; it votes, itself, for death, and marks out its victims.

“ The recital of the cruelties makes nature shudder, and the orders which were given for their execution are in existence.

“ Never will the tooth of time efface the impression made by those atrocities; the river Loire will always roll with bloody waters, and the affrighted seaman will tremble when he sets his foot on a land that is whitened with the bones of the victims of barbarism.

“ Innocent victims, infants

scarcely delivered from the hand of nature, were condemned by those new Caligulas; they were given up to the waves; the prayers of citizens could not touch the hearts of barbarians: Mainguet is the only one who declares to have saved 500, whom he delivered over to the care of the inhabitants of the city unknown to the committee.

“ Nero contemplated the fatal vessel in which his mother was confined, while it floated on the Tiber under his window. The members of the committee at Nantz wanted to imitate him, and caused a vessel with a valve to be constructed destined to receive those victims which chance should point out; and oftener than once it served their barbarity; they did not even keep their crimes to themselves; and Mainguet declared, that they called these frightful expeditions *les baignades* (bathings); it was thus they named a crime which Nero blushed to have committed, *one single time, on one single person*; but which they, more cruel and more wicked, have committed, *many times, and on thousands of miserable victims*.

“ Although there are no absolute proofs of more than one expedition of this nature, by the confession of several persons accused, whom their consciences, torn with remorse, had forced to speak, there were between *four and eight* of these executions; such are their own words.

“ The

T H E

REVOLUTIONARY MAGAZINE.

HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

(Continued from page 24.)

IN the pamphlet of the Abbé may be seen the foundation of the whole Jacobin creed; disguised, indeed, so as not to offend by too abrupt an introduction of principles which are of such a nature as every reasonable man would revolt at; but leading on imperceptibly to conclusions, of which the reader, if not at first aware, and at which he is the more certain to arrive, would not suspect where he is going.

One of the evils in attempting metaphysical abstract reasonings, that the result is frequently not discovered, till men are led into errors from which it is difficult to draw back. The work in question appeared to the bulk of its readers at first only to prove, that the majority were oppressed, and that they ought not to be so; but to seek redress by assuming that importance to which their superior number gave them a just title. The pamphlet appeared to contain little more at first; it seemed to be a simple state of facts, told in a style that announced a calm, unprejudiced, and instructed mind, good intentions, and a sound judgment. When, afterwards, the

third state had not only become something, as he modestly had announced, but had in fact engrossed every power, this same pamphlet hinted at the use they should make of that power, in a way that was become intelligible, since the position of things had changed, though it was not so at its first appearance. To give an example of this:—Men had already learned, that the minority was to be governed by the majority in the decision of political questions; from this a deduction was artfully drawn, that the will of the majority was the law of the whole; and that the interest of the majority ought to be their guide.—Thus, though the first principle laid down be fair; the other two, that seem to the person who does not reflect, to rise out of it, are the most false and dangerous that can be imagined; and from which it would follow, that the will of the majority becomes law and justice. But it goes still farther; for the majority is to give what is for its good, and therefore the life of the individual is at the disposal of the great number. This doctrine was contained in the book, but

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couched

couched in such terms as only to become evident as the minds of men got ready for it; something in fact, like a sympathetic ink.

We must dwell the more upon this pamphlet, because it was a production that such amazing effects, and because it contained the basis of all those principles which have since been carried to such pernicious excesses. Perhaps no production on either side of the question has been written in so artful a manner. The steps by which people were led on to false conclusions, as matters ripened, were of more importance than may at first sight be imagined; for had the SAME principles been contained in different productions of the SAME man, they would not still have produced the SAME effects: moderate and well meaning men became at first converts to the principles of the Abbé Seyeyes; they had approved of his work openly, and both inclination and pride hindered them from retracting. It is true, they found that the book contained more than they had at first understood to be meant; but it was not so easy for a new-fangled patriot to confess that he had read and not understood, and approved without comprehending; so that many persons who never thought of any such thing, but who did not know how to extricate themselves from the metaphysical labyrinth, became unreasonable and unjust, from having too hastily committed themselves.

As all the writers, and most part of the talkers, were on the same side of the question, the political opinions of the Abbé Seyeyes were almost universally adopted and approved. There were, indeed, a certain set of men who, from superior knowledge, or from a natural soundness of judgment, saw through all these sort of reasonings; but they had no means of counteracting their evil effects. More than half a million of copies of the pamphlet had been circulated, and any answer that could have been given to it, would never have exceeded a circulation of one or two thousand, perhaps not so many hundreds, and those would have chiefly fallen into the hands of reasonable thinking men, who did not want them; the ignorant and acting many would never have heard of them.

It is certainly here a proper place, while we are recording the energy, activity, and art of the democratic party, to record also the opposite and contrary qualities of their rivals. At the time when the Duke of Orleans first began to set to work with activity, though with an immense fortune, and M. Necker with the royal treasury in his hands, yet the money that was at the disposition of the proprietors and dignified clergy, was more than fifty times as much, and it was their property and consideration in the kingdom which were attacked; they might, therefore, have made
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a powerful stand. Their revenues amounted to at least fifty millions sterling; and any sum that their enemies could dispose of, certainly did not amount to half a million. Yet, in this state of things, did the proprietors pay a single man of merit to plead their cause? No.—If by chance a man of merit refuted their enemies, did they make a small sacrifice to give publicity to his work? No. He who pleaded the cause of murder and plunder, saw his work distributed by thousands and hundreds of thousands, and himself enriched; while he who endeavoured to support the cause of law, of order, and of the proprietor, had his bookseller to pay, and saw his labours converted into waste paper. It is true, he had the consolation of his own mind, and the esteem of the few to whom his good intentions were known; but, with regard to *effect* upon the public mind, he produced none; his main object was, therefore, unattained, and the revolutionary arguments remained triumphant.

With energy, some money, and disposition to make use of it, on one side; and on the other, indolence, pecuniary means in abundance, but not the will to employ one shilling of it; can we be surprised that things went in favour of those who had the energy and will? It would have been surprising if it had not: and, accordingly, we have since seen the shirt-

less, shoeless vagabond burning the castles and title deeds of the proprietor, and, with a high hand, put himself in his place.

It would be useless and absurd at this moment to give the History of Jacobinism, with the avowed intention of stopping its progress, without adverting in a pointed manner to the blameable conduct of those who were both by interest and principle bound to make a stand.

It is in vain to imagine that, in the present state of society, any order of things will long exist, that is not supported by general opinion. Men have of late learned the art of revolting, while that of governing it is becoming daily more difficult; and this discovery is too important, and too fatal to the human race, not to merit opposition. Public opinion, and not force, is the only firm, solid, and durable foundation for power; even Robespierre himself, with his armies composed of the millions of soldiers, and thousands of executioners; with all his poinards, his cannon, and his guillotines, was obliged to devote most of his time and his efforts to preserve public opinion; and he sunk like a wretch the moment that he ceased to govern that opinion. The different sects of Jacobins, have they not all fallen, as their turn came to lose the support of the public voice? But, if the example of the efficacy of opinion amongst the Jacobins of France is not thought applicable to a well

regulated state, let us call to mind the revolutions from kingly power to republicanism at Rome, and from a republic to an empire : let us remember our own revolutions, whether they were in support of men or of measures ; opinion and the general will were the forerunners of all those changes. We have just finished taking a review of the change of opinion that proceeded the revolution in France ; and can we for one moment doubt of the necessity of preserving argument on our side, if we will preserve peace and order ? Fortunately, the arguments on the side of law and order, are much stronger than any that can be employed by its enemies, if we chuse to employ them ; but it is not individual effort that will avail the cause. Defence requires as much exertion as attack ; and the Jacobins themselves have set us the example how it is to be done, and that we ought rather to have recourse to acting upon *mind* than upon *matter*.

Such, as we have described, then, were the first efforts of those men who, few in number, had conceived the plan of overturning every thing that they might get a little ; until the opening of the states general gave them a wider field to act in, from which moment we shall find them assume a confidence that makes their actions and their maxims more easily followed, and their motives traced with a greater degree of precision and certainty.

C H A P. III.

Assembly of the states general—Opposite disposition of the deputies of the third estate—The grand question of the manner of voting—Public opinion in favour of one general assembly of the three orders—The king's offer on the 23 of June—Obstinacy of the deputies of the third estate—Divisions in the assemblies of the other two orders—Members of the clergy and notables join the third estate—The court becomes serious—Ministry changed—Troops march against Paris—Energy and activity of the people—The revolt begins openly on the 12th of July.

THOUGH we have already seen some of the heroes who entered as representatives of the people into the states general, yet the names of most of those who are just about to become conspicuous, had, according to the common expression, never before had been heard of ; and the few who were already known, displayed in general a sort of character, which they had never before been suspected to possess, so that we may consider it almost as an assembly altogether of new men.

The number of deputies for the whole kingdom amounted to twelve hundred, which, according to the new method of election, giving the tiers etat, or third estate, a double representation, allowed three hundred for the nobility, three hundred

hundred for the clergy, and six hundred for the third estate.

The place of assembly was fixed at Versailles, in a hall called the Menus Plaisirs (where the dresses belonging to the opera and the theatre of the palace used to be kept;) in this hall the assembly was to be opened by the king and his ministers, which, when done, the deputies of the different orders were to separate, and to discuss their interests; after which, in following the old form, they were to meet again to adjust matters, and reconcile whatever might be different in their views and interests.

When the assembly was opened, M. Necker explained, in a long memorial, the state of the finances of the kingdom, and the embarrassments; giving at the same time plainly to understand, that the king himself *possessed the power*, and had the means of arranging every thing, but that the beneficence of his majesty had made him listen to *his* advice, and to call together the representatives of the people.

After this day of opening, which was rather a day of ceremony than of business, the deputies of the nobles, and of the clergy, retired to two adjoining halls, of a smaller size, which were appointed for them; the deputies of the third estate, being the most numerous, remained in the hall of the general assembly. The different dispositions of the king, of his minister, and of the deputies of the three or-

ders were evident from different circumstances, otherwise in themselves but of little importance.

M. Necker's views of personally dictating, in matter of finance, to the assembly, were very evident, by the discourse which he then read; and his declaration of the king's having it in his power to make the arrangements necessary, without the states general, was a proof that he was a favourer of absolute monarchy, unless it was only meant as a hint to give them to understand that they were there only during pleasure.

Whether with design or not, it had been so ordered by the minister, that the third estate consisting only of between five and six hundred members, held their sittings in a hall capable of containing, with ease, two thousand persons, so that there was room for the curious of all descriptions to witness their debates. The hall of the nobility was not capable of containing five hundred persons, so that as the deputies themselves amounted to near three hundred, the number of spectators could but be few. The place of assembly of the clergy was nearly about the same size with that for the nobles.

From this circumstance it naturally occurred, that the debates and reasonings of the third estate, so popular from the cause they tended to support, were widely spread abroad, and repeated with eagerness and enthusiasm by that crowd

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of spectators of all ranks who went every day from Paris to be witnesses of what passed.

The reasonings of the nobility and clergy, less popular from their nature, but not less eloquent, were little known, and inspired no interest; the third estate seemed already to be the only assembly, and their opinions became those of the public, almost in an instant.

The change already made in the numbers of the representatives, for the three orders, not only opened a door for other changes, but rendered some others absolutely necessary.

The orders used formerly to discuss the questions separately, and the simple majority in the assembly of each order determined the question. The determinations of the orders being thus fixed separately, they had to meet and reconcile their interest in a general assembly; or when they could not settle a point amicably, the opinions of two of the orders carried it against the third. As his majesty, by the advice of his minister, had doubled the number of representatives of the third estate, it was naturally a question to be discussed, whether the manner of taking the votes should not be changed. This was therefore the first question that came before the deputies.

It was evident that to increase the number of votes and to continue the old manner of voting, would have been perfectly useless,

if for the result of the deliberations of 600 persons was reduced to unity, and that three hundred in each of the other assemblies constituted one vote also, there was no use for having named six hundred deputies for the third estate. The people were witnesses to all this reasoning; and the question whether they should vote by head or by order, as it was called, that is to say, whether the total majority of voices should determine a question, or the majority of orders, was soon decided with the public in favour of a majority of voices.

The nobles and the clergy, on the other side, insisted, that as they had separate interests, they ought to vote separately; that two bodies of three hundred each, with different views, could not with any effect vote against six hundred, all united in opinion and interest, and who discussed their affairs in one assembly, whilst they were separated from each other. This reasoning was perfectly good; but it was not of any weight with the public, who scarcely knew what was passing in these two assemblies. Supposing, indeed, the reasonings on all sides had been known, it would not have resolved the difficulty, because the new change of a double representation had rendered the whole an absurd combination. The debates on this subject were warm, and occupied all France: which ever way they turned, there seemed to be either difficulty

difficulty or absurdity in the arrangement, except by joining all the members together in one assembly, and debating their interests in common; though even this did not obviate the difficulties arising from the nobles and clergy not possessing the same common interest, while the other six hundred deputies did. The deputies of the third estate, so far from denying this, allowed it to be true; and it was from this very circumstance that they made themselves certain of victory; but they argued that the nobles and clergy were Frenchmen, that a noble was a man like another, and that if he had any separate interest, far from that being a reason for voting separately, that difference of interest only arose from abusive privileges, and was a reason for their being all united in one assembly.

This was a moment when the court might have made one last effort to regain popularity and power, it was a time when the necessity of such an attempt was necessary and very evident. The deputies of the third estate had completely shewn what were their intentions, but they had not yet absolutely tried their force; so that if the king had made the sacrifice of power which was reasonable, and which the general spirit of cahiers dictated; if he had resolved upon economy, and thereby satisfied the reasonable portion of his subjects, the revolutionary gentlemen would soon have

been reduced to insignificance; but the court did nothing, and the last moment of its power and influence fast approached; for when once a trial of strength was made, and victory followed to the third estate, the foundation of the revolution was completely and solidly laid.—No concessions which the king could afterwards make, could be accepted, because, arising from necessity, they were liable to be suspected, and the stronger party could not be supposed to accept conditions that neither gratified the ambition of individuals, nor secured the general interest.

The court ought to have known the number of members in each of the chambers on which it might depend; as for the intentions of its enemies, they were well known: it was, therefore, the excess either of carelessness or folly, to put itself in the power of a general assembly, decidedly inimical to its interests, without making any efforts to avoid so dangerous an extremity.

The short interval between the first assembling of the states general and the meeting of all the members in the hall, is one of the most important in the revolution; because it determined completely the contest between the king and the people, as to power: with regard to their manner of using that power afterwards, that was not all the question; and, certainly, if the greatest enemies of the people had

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set to work to point out the evils to be apprehended, they would not have been able to do it, for this plain reason, that no strength of imagination would have been sufficient to have conceived then what has happened since.

To add if possible, to the impatience of the public during this period, the only regular method of knowing what passed in the three different chambers, was by the Journal of Paris, a daily newspaper, upon a small half sheet, that had room only to enter into the heads of what had occurred. This paper was under the direct influence of the court, therefore was suspicious and suspected; besides, it never gave the debates till four or five days after. It is not in England that there will be any difficulty to conceive the uneasiness, anxiety, and displeasure, occasioned by such a method of reporting those important debates; this was foreseen by M. le Comte de Mirabeau, of whom we shall presently speak more at large, who had announced a daily paper, containing always the debates of the day preceding, and the subscription for which had not been open a week at his bookseller's, before the amount subscribed for three months only was more than thirty thousand livres, or above twelve hundred pounds. The court put a stop to this immediately: and, by this exertion of power, inflamed the public mind still more, and did not do

any good; for Mirabeau was one of those daring men with a fertile brain, who soon found out a means of publishing a periodical work under so reasonable a form, that it would have been the highest oppression so have oppressed it, under the name of *Letters to his Constituents*; thereby appearing to render an account of the manner in which he did his duty as a representative, he not only gave an account of what had passed in the assemblies, but he could with propriety add what he thought proper of his own, which, in the simple form of a journal, he could not have done so properly. Besides, he was not tied down to relate every thing as in a plain narration, and, therefore, he passed over in silence whatever did not suit his purpose, and heightened the colours of whatever he did.

It is very certain that the letters to his constituents, which Mirabeau published, produced a very inflammatory effect all through France, and prepared people more and more for those excesses and those persecutions of the nobles, which so soon after took place. By these letters the factions of all sorts were led to a point of re-union, and that point was their author. So that their violent spirits acting upon each other, and then upon the public, a sort of revolutionary volcano was created; and, if we may be permitted to extend the comparison, it was from this volcano that the lava ran, and the ashes

ashes flew, which have more or less incommoded every nation in Europe.

The bad moral character of Mirabeau was so much against him, that the first time he attempted to speak, the assembly would not listen to him; but he was not a man to be diverted from his purpose, by any such trifling circumstance; for, as he knew better than any one that was there, the storm that was preparing, as his great penetration informed him of his being more capable of riding on that storm than any of those around him, he knew he would soon *not only be heard, but listened to*; and he was not deceived.

The court, either disregarding or despising its enemies, but at the same time wishing to put itself out of their power, assembled great numbers of the military in and about Paris and Versailles; but, by the same fatality which seems to have been attached to all its measures, no precautions were taken to set the minds of the people at ease, nor to preserve the troops from sucking in the same principles of rebellion and revolt, which were but too apparent in the citizens of almost every description.

It was since the sitting of the states general had began, that a new vigour was given to those cabals which had long been carried on in Paris, particularly in the Palais Royal, which belonged to the duke of Orleans. This building, originally a royal palace, with a

public garden attached to it, had been converted into one large elegant hollow square. The duke's palace occupied only one end, the remainder being filled with shops, taverns, hotels for lodging strangers, gaming houses, no less than three play-houses; the great bulk of what was let as lodgings, being occupied by women of the town. The middle still continued to be a garden in the form of an oblong square, in which were several small bookfellers' shops and some coffee-houses under painted pavilions. A piazza of very elegant architecture went round the whole, so that in rainy or in fair weather it was equally convenient as a promenade. The description of the Palais Royal, as it was called, is entered into, because, during the whole of the Revolution, it has been a theatre of as great, and sometimes greater importance, than the assembly of the deputies.

Numbers of clubs, named so after the English manner, had been established, under the roof of this extensive building, and the protection of its master; for being exempt from the visits of the ordinary officers of the police, as a royal garden, men there found safety for cabal and intrigue, when it was to be found no where else. It was from this garden that messengers were sent every two or three hours on important occasions, to communicate between the factious leaders in Paris and at Versailles.

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The garden itself, which used to be the resort of wit and beauty, became filled with groups of the angry looking and wretched dregs of the people; mixed, however, with the mechanics who had left their shops, and the lowest class of women, who had left their children and families *to work at the Revolution*.

The eyes of all the factious turned naturally to Mirabeau, whose former character put villany quite as its ease in making any sort of proposition, and whose audacity and ability rendered him capable of being useful in whatever he might undertake.

It was in the Palais Royal that every experiment upon the minds of the people was made; there treason was spoken and sedition circulated with impunity; and from thence were dispatched those messengers of confusion who have since desolated that miserable country.

At last, a sort of revolt among the French guards broke out, instigated and assisted by the people, and some of their number were secured and lodged in the abbey prison. The people seemed to take an active interest in the fate of those mutinous soldiers, who, by every military law, deserved to be severely punished. Attempts were made to break open their prison, and messengers dispatched to ask from the king their pardon, in a tone that, addressed to a sovereign, was rather that of menace than of petition. The court had not de-

termined what party to take, when the prison was forced, and the mutineers in question escaped without difficulty to the common asylum of insurrection, the Palais Royal; and there, under a pretence of hiding themselves, they remained in a room occupied by a woman of the town, which they entered by a sort of force; but so little was their fear of being discovered, that a small basket was hung over the windows, to collect money from the crowd that was perpetually assembled below; and in the course of a few days, three hundred pounds were collected. Drunkenness, riot, and the pilfering of those who joined them in their retreat, prevented an account from being kept of what was afterwards received. This, however, shewed the general disposition of people of a class who were able to give money. The king had the weakness now to pardon a fault, which was become ten times greater than at first; so that the whole regiment, encouraged by the example of impunity and reward, and led on by inclination, became a band of mutineers, and, in fact, were the first to rebel when open force was resorted to.

The states general still went on; the Parisians attended it in crowds every day; and on the Sunday, the deputies of the third estate and of the low clergy went to pay visits in Paris; so that the Parisian with one hand gave to the soldier, and with the other to the deputy.

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The states had already been in this condition for three weeks, when the assembly of the nobles divided in itself, and the assembly of the clergy did the same; a minority, indeed, but not an inconsiderable one of each, having declared they would join the third estate in one common assembly.

The Duke of Orleans, finding that it was now time to shew himself, declared that he was ready to pass over at the head of a considerable number of his order, and join in the common assembly; so that the king and court, finding what they had to fear, resolved to anticipate the storm. Accordingly, on the 23d of June, the king came to the assembly, and offered to abolish all the grievances which it was known the majority of the cahiers contained. This declaration, which in a month sooner would have occasioned the greatest pleasure, and would have, perhaps, defeated the manœuvres of those who sought revolt and disorder, was received by the assembly with a cold indifference. When his majesty withdrew, and the assembly, according to custom, should have adjourned till next day, the deputies of the third estate remained, (in their own chamber, where the assembly was) and began immediately to debate very warmly, and most part of the speakers were for rejecting the offers of the king.

His majesty finding that the assembly continued sitting, sent his

master of the ceremonies with a herald, to signify his will, that they should not continue that day. The audacious Mirabeau answered, without rising up from his seat, with a loud voice and a menacing aspect, "Go," says he, "and tell your master, that we are here by the will of the people, and that we shall not depart but by the force of the bayonet."

This was the first open declaration of disobedience to his Majesty, in which the whole assembly participated by their approbation, and by their continuing to sit.

It is well known, how reports are spread with rapidity and exaggerated with success, in a large city, and on important occasions. It was reported in less than two hours after in Paris, that the assembly was threatened with the bayonet, and imagination added, that they were actually become martyrs to their own firmness, and their duty to their constituents.

This open act of firmness and audacity on the side of the deputies not being resisted, either by force or any other mode, by the court, was considered as a fair trial of strength and as a decided victory. The deputies of the third estate gained courage, and those of the two other orders, finding the discussions were not likely to terminate, began individually to quit their respective assemblies, and join the assembly of the third estate.

This method was certainly very
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irregular, but there was now no rule for any thing; and as the system is, in all matters of revolution, that a point gained is a victory obtained, no matter how; this desertion of their order, and the interest of their constituents, was greatly applauded, and the deserters honourably received. The hopes of being well treated, in case of an insurrection of the people, acted forcibly on individuals, and anonymous letters were sent to many of them, which strengthened both the hopes and fears which they might have concerning the conduct to be adopted.

Mirabeau, who had gained as much credit by his speech on the 23d of June with the assembly, as the assembly itself had gained with the people, now became a leading man, and conceived the project of writing an address to the king, in the name of the assembly, requesting him to send away the troops who were surrounding Versailles and the capital, who, he said, were only useful on the frontiers against enemies, but who could do no good in the interior of the country, their arms directed against the representatives of the nation, employed in seeking what tended to make the people happy.

This address, written with great elegance and force of language, was read by Mirabeau to the assembly, which was unbounded in its applause: a second reading was demanded, and again applauded.

The address was then resolved upon, and presented by a deputation of the members, who waited on the king.

The court began now seriously to think of one effort before all should be lost. There were great numbers of soldiers, as they imagined, at their command. There was a camp of twenty thousand men within a mile of Paris, and military quartered every where in and about both Paris and Versailles. The ancient courtiers seemed awakened from their lethargy, and assembled round their king; but M. Necker was an insurmountable barrier in the way; it was impossible to take any steps without his knowledge, and they could never expect to gain his consent to what they proposed to do.

The plan that was laid, had it been well put in execution, might perhaps have re-established the ancient system completely; but the same want of energy on the part of those employed to put it in execution, that had all along been evident, and which has been evident in all the operations of that party ever since, by misgiving, overturned the monarchy completely in the space of a few days.

The plan was simply this: M. Necker, and those who acted with him, were to be displaced, and sent to a distance. Ministers attached to the court, and whose fidelity was known, were to be put in their place, and a loan of one hundred
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and twenty-five millions Tournois was secured amongst the monied people, with which sum the court could go on, at least for some time; the states general was to be dissolved by the king's simple authority, if it would not accept his offers, and it is never to be doubted that force was to have been employed in case of resistance.

This plan was arranged with a secrecy that did credit to those who conducted it, and accordingly on Saturday, at a late hour, when the assembly was dispersed till Monday; each of the ministers got his dismissal in the usual form, and not being ignorant of what was meant, each departed that same night with all the secrecy possible. Such was the secrecy with which this was performed, that though M. Necker quitted his house at Versailles at eleven o'clock on the Saturday evening, it was not known amongst the servants of the house before ten o'clock on the Sunday morning: it began to be known in Versailles at eleven, and was spread abroad in Paris about one. The consternation was prodigious and general; but perhaps would not have been attended with any violent movement, had not the court by its imprudence and weakness rendered resistance necessary.

The deputies who remained at Versailles, dispatched messengers to Paris; they expected to be all massacred or imprisoned, at least. The people of Paris expected little better; their credulity was great,

and their fear greater; so that under such apprehensions it only wanted a signal given to make an insurrection break forth, and this signal was not long wanting. Mirabeau, and all those who had openly acted against the court, saw their last hour they imagined approach; those who had planned and acted more secretly, apprehended their actions were known, and would be punished; there was not any room for hesitation or delay; the combat was begun, and it was become absolutely necessary to act immediately, or sink for ever; it was not now to the leaders, a speculation of interest and intrigue, it was an affair of life and death, from the Duke of Orleans to the lowest emissary. Every means that they could command of money, or others, were employed to overcome this difficulty, the greatest and the bravest possible, but which, whatever was the event, must be the last, as it must end in death or victory.

On the Sunday, in the evening, the approach of the military, with cannon, to a public walk, where the Parisians amused themselves with their families, brought things to a crisis. Some persons thinking themselves protected from the cannon, by the presence of the great numbers of women and children who were there, threw a few stones at the soldiers; a sort of battle ensued, and several were killed, and others wounded on both sides.

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The Prince de Lambesk, who commanded this fatal expedition, begun it imprudently, and finished it the same; for except giving the people to know what they had to expect, it had no other immediate consequence. The military were withdrawn from the spot; having irritated, but not intimidated the inhabitants of a city, where there were at least seven hundred thousand souls, and who were left time to rally, and to take measures for insuring themselves victory.

The night was passed by the leaders of the people in combining their plans, and by themselves in seizing upon all the arms that could be procured. Previous to the election of the deputies, Paris had been divided into sixty different portions, called sections; one church in each section was employed for the primary assemblies, who chose among themselves electors, who all assembled at the archbishop's palace, there to chuse the deputies. These sections served as points of reunion to the citizens, who now assembled there, all ranks promiscuously; for the danger was general. Though there were undoubtedly many persons who had nothing to fear from the court, they had a great deal to fear from their fellow citizens, if they did not join them, which they all did; and thus the court united the whole of that great city in one mind and interest by its imprudence. Had the refractory deputies been seized, that same night,

the plan might have yet succeeded; but this was left undone, and thereby the affair entirely failed.

From this time the revolt obtained a physical existence; and the greater force was on the side of the revolvers, so that the undecided individual knew, by embracing their cause, he had little to fear. This is the rubicon of revolutions; it is the belief that force is on the side of government that constitutes its force; the contrary idea produces its immediate fall; and whether the opinion is at first founded in fact, or not, it becomes realized in an instant; for force lies where it is thought to lie, as the greater number are determined only by the simple feelings of fear and of hope.

It is not in what has hitherto happened that the democratic party is to be blamed. A few individuals were certainly guilty of wrong intentions from the beginning, but by no means were the people, who wished for liberty and happiness; when that becomes a crime, life will become a burthen, and the only fit retreat for a man who has any spirit or mind, will be the silent grave. It was more than probable that the court would not have been faithful to the offers made on the 3d of June, had they been accepted; the people wanted a bill of rights, and it was a bill of rights alone that ought to have satisfied them; and those who refused it, certainly may reproach themselves

themselves with being, in part, the occasion of what has since happened; they did not participate either in the cruelties or injustices of which they have been the victims, but they were nevertheless in a great measure the cause. It is too late to be reasonable and just when we are forced into it. Such conduct excites suspicion, blame, and contempt; while a contrary behaviour obtains confidence, esteem, and gratitude.

A greater lesson can never be given to those who govern than this; and if the people and their leaders, who turned to advantage with such address the faults of the court, had been instructed by them, and learned justice and moderation when it came to their turn to reign, they might long ago have enjoyed that happiness which a contrary behaviour has so completely banished from their miserable country. It is with reluctance that we can vindicate the conduct of men for a moment, who have since been guilty of such crimes as makes nature shudder, and will not only remain a stain upon their nation, but will reflect dishonour on the whole human race.

CHAP. IV.

First motives of the insurrection good, but soon became bad—Multitude armed—Bastille, &c. taken—Beginning of cruelties—Adroit manoeuvre by which all France was armed—King visits Paris—Tri-

umph of the people is complete—JACOBIN CLUB begun its affliction, and destruction of liberty they occasioned—Mistakes in England on this head.

IF the beginning of this history has been employed in relating the misconduct and follies of a state of society, where prejudice in favour of what was ancient was carried too far; what remains, is destined to paint the miseries and crimes into which men fall, when they, under the idea of their being philosophers, lose all respect for experience, thinking that they are getting rid only of prejudice.

The motive of the multitude being liberty and happiness, was only what they have in common with all mankind; but the unexampled vanity with which their first successes were followed, their ignorance of what liberty consisted in, and the cruelty and want of any attention to principle, with which their possession of power was accompanied, are proofs that violent revolutions destroyed the moral principle in man, by setting ambition and interest in too powerful a manner to work; at the same time that by setting a great object continually before the eyes of the individual, he passed over without reluctance what would in other times have made him shudder only to have thought of.

The enthusiasm inspired by continually speaking and acting in a

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common cause, and sharing a common danger, gives a sort of electric shock which is communicated from one eye to another, that raises the man above himself in courage, and sinks him below the brute in savageness. The happiness of men, and extremes of all sorts, are at variance; they are by no means, therefore, the friends of the people, who open a door to excesses; and those who may in future attempt such a thing, will be doubly to blame; for the revolutionists of whom we have been speaking, were, perhaps, ignorant of the evils they were bringing on: those who follow their example, will not have the same excuse; for the experiment has been clearly made, and its result is recorded in the blood of most of those who were guilty of such temerity.

The Monday which succeeded the battle of the Thuilleries, found all the inhabitants of Paris either armed or assembled. The sections assumed the appearance of so many federal states, having the town-house for its center, to which deputies from the different sections were sent. Paris thereby became an organized military government, capable of acting with some degree of unity. The prisons were opened; and the suspected persons disarmed; a green cockade was ordered to be worn by all those who were *for the people*, as they termed it; but having reflected, that the livery of the Count d'Artois was green, it was changed for the party-

coloured cockade, which has been called the national cockade ever since, and which was the livery of the chief of the factious, Philip Duke of Orleans.

The whole of Monday was thus spent in securing Paris against the attack supposed to be meditated by the troops; the court affrighted, or at least astonished at the tumult it had occasioned, remained inactive. Not one effort was made to seize the ringleaders of the people, or to dissolve the assembly at Versailles, nor to dispatch messengers to explain affairs to the distant provinces. This inexcusable pusillanimity and neglect was improved to advantage by its enemies. The barriers or gates, where duty was collected on merchandizes on entering into Paris, were kept shut, and surrounded by an immense crowd of people, so that neither the peaceable who wanted to retire from danger, nor those who might wish to depart with design, were allowed to go. This single circumstance occasioned an alarm in the whole kingdom; as the post and other daily communications failed, in the middle of summer, and in fine weather, the minds of the people already extremely uneasy every where, were prepared for some great event, and being reduced to the last pitch of consternation, were ready to receive with alacrity whatever impulse might be given to them by the party that should remain victorious.

(To be continued in the next.)

LIVES AND CHARACTERS

*The LIFE and CHARACTER of ROBESPIERRE.**(Continued from page 33.)*

THE king being dethroned, the re-establishment of royalty was apprehended, and therefore his death resolved upon, and accomplished; but those who had aided in all this, Petion, Brissot, and that large party who perished together, having views of reigning, but knowing that they could not all reign *alone*, had resolved, in order to avoid a combat, all to reign together; but this Robespierre, who could never bear an equal, did not choose: he therefore, with the assistance of Marat and the Jacobins, overthrew that party, and then he reigned almost alone. Then the system of terror, so horrible to describe, existed in its fullest reign. Terror now sat on the throne of Louis XVI. and France, which had been like a garden, was now become a grave for its miserable inhabitants.

The Jacobin Club, and the Committee of Public Safety governed and regulated every thing, and Robespierre governed them; for, as soon as any man, or number of men, obtained too much power, they were cut down by Robespierre like ripe corn before the sickle of the reaper. Camille de Moulins, the ancient college companion and friend of Robespierre, disappeared in his turn, the same as

others had done, at the command of the Tyrant; even Danton, the terrible Danton, the most audacious of all those who had ruined France, sunk likewise under the displeasure of Robespierre and the edge of the guillotine. Camille de Moulins had been invited by the Tyrant to sup with him on the very night that he was arrested and conducted to that prison from which he never departed but to mount the fatal scaffold.

During all this time Robespierre never enriched himself, but persisted in living not only in a frugal, but in a dirty filthy manner.

The Tyrant (for reasons of his own) wishing to be among his inferiors, and independent of those above him, had taken up his abode in the house of a poor joiner, where he lodged in a room which, from its situation, and the moveables which it contained, would have been too dear at half a crown a week. Robespierre became, from almost his first arrival there, the oracle and the tutelary Deity of this family, of which all the members were totally devoted to him.

The father, Dupleix, and the son, became the agents of Robespierre

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among

among the groupes of the lower order of the people, while the mother and daughter went constantly into the gallery of the Convention, and to the Jacobin Club, ready to applaud with enthusiasm the speeches of their admired master; and though none of the family, which, by way of derision, was at last called the Royal Family, had any sort of talents, yet, as is usual, their enthusiasm and obedience were equal to their stupidity, and seconded with assiduity and effect the mad schemes of Robespierre.

It is by no means astonishing that Robespierre continued to live in this state of apparent poverty, even when all the treasures of France were at his disposal. He had, by so continuing to live, a sure mode of destroying all his assistants and friends who amassed money, and lived in fine palaces, because he could reproach them with their luxury: a reproach which, as it could neither be denied, nor retorted upon himself, gave solidity to every other accusation which he might bring against them. Add to this, that while all the wealth of France was at his command it was of no importance to have a few millions set apart, which could only, if discovered, serve as a handle for his enemies.

Robespierre seems, from the time that he became master of France, to have made up his mind, as indeed all tyrants should do, either to remain at the head of affairs, or

perish, because to descend was impracticable; he therefore took none of those methods of securing to himself friends or fortune which occupied the attention of subordinate men. His whole views were concentrated in reigning as master, and therefore he acted continually upon the plan of ruling, or falling a sacrifice at once to his ambition.

When Robespierre had got rid of Brissot, Pethion, Condorcet, and the other friends who had overturned the throne of Louis the XVI. and exalted him, he began immediately to organize the system of terror. He put to death the queen of France, made sanguinary decrees, and covered all France with commissaries who had the power of life and death, and at whose disposal all property was, without reserve. Marat, that sanguinary scoundrel, who had trained up the people of France to be more savage than they naturally would have become, even under the Convention, became formidable to Robespierre; and it is next to certain that he fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of his former friend.—Marat was ill, and had many symptoms of being attacked by slow poison when he was stabbed by Charlotte Corday. It is firmly believed by many, and even he himself thought, that he was poisoned by Robespierre; and there are many reasons for thinking that the poignard of the fanatic who assassinated

fascinated him was directed by the Tyrant himself.

One thing is perfectly evident through the whole of the life of Robespierre, which is, that he never was turned, either through pity or friendship, from any act which his own safety or his ambition dictated: and for proof of this, the manner in which he sent his friends and associates to the guillotine is sufficient.

Camille de Moulins, his ancient college companion, his assistant in all his political intrigues, as we have already said, and who had contributed so much to his elevation, was invited by the Tyrant to sup with him the same night that he was arrested. Danton was sacrificed with as little ceremony, and even his own sister was imprisoned by his orders, and escaped a trial and the guillotine by accident.

It might naturally be expected, that the spleen of Robespierre would vent itself on the town of Arras; and it was so. If the mortification which he had undergone there at the bar was great, the punishment of the miserable inhabitants was still greater. The gentry of the country round, the advocates who had been his rivals at the bar, and even the old lady's son, who lent him the ten louis d'ors and the trunk when he set out for Paris, fell sacrifices to his wrath and vengeance; the execution of which was committed to Joseph le Bon, his agent in the

north, of whose heroic deeds we shall hear, when we come to give the history of his life.

The power of Robespierre, tho' boundless, was never seated either on a fixed or durable basis. The Jacobin Club was his great mean of governing the committees and the assembly; and the terrible state of subjection into which France had been thrown made it submit to the irregular banditti of commissioners, and the revolutionary army which covered its surface, and consumed its substance; but whatever is destructive is perishable. The reign of the Tyrant, being supported by destruction and devastation, could not be of long, though it was of terrible, duration.

Oliver Cromwell reigned by a sort of principle. He was a soldier, and a man who, to a very strong mind, united a real knowledge of human nature. He not only understood how to destroy his enemies, but how to be useful to his friends—equal, if not superior to Robespierre in resolution when his purpose was once fixed he knew how to unite mercy with revenge upon occasion; but, above all, he was happy in this, that in our English civil wars, religion and moral duties were still in esteem in England: and therefore, though many villains were let loose upon the nation, yet the nation itself was not converted into a den of thieves by a total overthrow of whatever is good or

virtuous; nor was it led totally astray by false notions of liberty and equality.

Robespierre, having alternately sacrificed all his friends, became suspected by all; and never having pardoned an enemy, those who were conscious of having offended became desperate.—The Tyrant therefore, sensible of the situation into which he had brought himself, began to tremble on his throne; and as he trembled, the guillotine became more active, and more innocent victims fell.

Two different plans were devised to support the personal importance of the Tyrant. The first was a false report of an assassination; and the second, a religious ceremony, at which Robespierre assisted as high priest.

A silly girl, without any particular view, called at the door of the house, where the Tyrant lodged one evening, a few months before his fall. Having asked to see him, and some suspicion being raised, occasioned by the frivolity of her manner, she was taken up, and conducted before a committee; and it would appear, that, though she did not lose courage, she entirely lost her senses, as her answers were totally deranged, and resembled very much those of a disordered mind.

The fate of Margaret Nicholson would certainly, in any just and humane government, have been the worst that would have attended

this foolish girl, who, instead of menacing a crowned head with a knife, had only asked a few unmeaning questions: but here was an example of the difference between Robespierre and a king.

In England, a mad woman, who attempted the murder of the sovereign, was treated just as humanity dictates to us that mad women should be treated who have attempted nothing at all. She was confined at the expence of the public, with all those circumstances of humanity and attention which such a miserable state demands, or of which it will admit.

The murderer of the king of Sweden was punished as his crime deserved; but his estate was restored to his innocent offspring, and he was punished after the crime was not only proved, but avowed.

Robespierre shewed the whole world the difference between royalty and usurpation. The father, mother, brother, sister, aunt, and all the relations of this foolish girl, were thrown into prison and led to the scaffold; and one hundred and sixty persons, many of whom never heard of the name of the unfortunate family of L'Amiral, and some of whom had been in prison long before the supposed attempt was made, shed their blood on pretence of this conspiracy!! Such was the vengeance of an USURPING DESPOT, WHO ALWAYS TALKED OF LIBERTY, EQUALITY,

LITY, JUSTICE, AND THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE!!!

This sanguinary triumph of the Monster was a tragedy, which he thought proper to follow up by an impious and ridiculous farce.

Hebert, and the other blessed philosophers of France, having abolished the Christian and every other religion, and having instituted what they called the Worship of Reason (of which a definition shall be given in another place), and Robespierre finding it impossible to govern a nation of absolute atheists, determined to institute a new religion, and, as his devotees said, RESTORE THE SUPREME BEING TO HIS RIGHTS! A ceremony for that purpose was imagined, over which Robespierre presided, both as President of the Convention, which assisted in a body (this ceremony will be given at length among the miscellaneous articles), and as inventor of the new faith.

The foolish vanity of the Tyrant, and the despicable slavery to which France was now reduced, were fully made evident by this ridiculous ceremony.

Robespierre caused the whole order of the ceremony to be printed and distributed the day before, and he had even marked the *parts of his speech which the nation were to applaud*, and which the obedient nation did applaud. He began by preaching a sort of a sermon in the garden of the Thuilleries to the

people assembled in great numbers, in which he informed them, That France was, in real knowledge and philosophy, two thousand years before any other nation, but that it had been agitated by atheism; he therefore concluded, that a Supreme Being and an immortal soul were necessary to enlightened Frenchmen.

As the belief in a Supreme Being had been exploded by Hebert, and other democrats, who asserted. That it was an aristocratical reverie, and tended to royalism and the destruction of the system of equality, Robespierre, without however giving any good reason for it, said, *That the idea of a Supreme Being was correspondent with republican principles.*

Not only did Robespierre propose in his sermon, but the Assembly decreed, that they, and all France, believed in a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul.

This act of Robespierre surpassed in ridicule any thing recorded in history, and seems to have been the *ne plus ultra* of his vanity and folly, as well as of the slavish servility of the Parisians.

Among the applauding multitude, some voices were heard which tended to turn into ridicule this festival; this was told to Robespierre, and his vexation and anger were without measure.

Supreme master of France and of the Assembly, by which he governed,

verned, Robespierre all at once abandoned the Assembly and the committees, and only courted the favour of the Jacobin Club. Well-aware that Tallien, Bourdon, de l'Oise and others, had raised a party to ruin him, and certain that the struggle must be a deadly one, he neglected to employ the means in his power to crush his enemies; and it is a well ascertained fact, that during the last six weeks of his life, he seemed not only to have lost his usual energy, but even common sense. He seemed a devoted and infatuated man, and, like Macbeth, he felt his royalty hang loose about him *like a giant's robe upon a dwarfish thief*.

Robespierre became a burthen to himself, after having so long loaded his miserable country with his cruelties and crimes, which increased the number of his victims every day. Though his enemies caballed against him more openly every hour, and though his spies neglected not to inform him, that band which every day put a guilty seal to the list of its innocent victims, had not the force to seal the order for the destruction of his real enemies.

The only step which the Tyrant took to get rid of his enemies, served as the signal for the Convention to rally against himself; this was a decree, which forbid *conspirators from having any advocates to plead their cause*. As, until the cause is pleaded, *no man* can justly be called a conspirator, and

as any man is liable to be accused as such, the intention of this decree, and the danger of it, were equally evident. The Assembly, aware of the danger to which its own members were exposed by such a law, ventured to adjourn the decree, which the Tyrant seeing, quitted the chair of the president, and with violence mounted the tribune, from which, by menaces and reproaches he so intimidated the Convention, that the decree was passed immediately.

This decree furnished Robespierre with full power over his colleagues; but he made no use of it; and, on the other side, it inspired them with despair, which always acts in some shape or other, and on the 12th of June, Bourdon and Tallien ventured to speak unfavourably of the Committee of Public Safety; but their voices were soon stifled under that of Robespierre, Barrere, and Billaud de Varennes. From that time open war seemed declared, and the slowness of the Tyrant to punish operated already as a defeat, for it increased both the number and audacity of his enemies.

Robespierre had now lost that firmness in his resolutions which had conducted him to success, and his harangues shew despair rather than courage; he seems to have foreseen his fall, and yet to have waited for it without attempting to employ the means for protection which were yet in his power.

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At particular intervals, symptoms of melancholy madness were evident in the Tyrant, and on these occasions, to divert that melancholy, those persons who were nearest his person used to persuade him to go to a country house near Paris, which belonged formerly to the Princess of Chimay; but the joy of the feast, though it dissipated the melancholy despair, brought on extravagant paroxysms, when the wretched Tyrant acted a thousand extravagancies, such as rolling himself on the ground, embracing with enthusiasm strangers whom he did not know, and had never before seen.

Meanwhile the party of Bourdon and Tallien increased through fear, and the facility which the strange conduct of their adversary gave to intrigue. The plot thickened from day to day till the 20th of July, when, in all the sections and clubs, discontents seemed ready to break forth, the Committee of Public Safety announced its fears, and the cause of them; and on the 25th, Barrere complained to the Convention of the dangers which augmented, and the black conspiracies which were going on.

Anonymous letters were continually coming to the Tyrant's hands, in which he was threatened with terrible and unavoidable assassination; and it is evident, both from the tenor of his harangues, and from the imbecility of his con-

duct, that the certainty of the fate that awaited him had deprived him of the power of resisting.

On the 26th of July, the Tyrant mounted the tribune to be listened to for the last time, and from thence, in a long speech, in which he endeavoured to exculpate himself from the accusation of being a tyrant, which he said was an absurd falsehood, fabricated by the Duke of York, Pitt, and the supporters of real tyrants, he went on to accuse his enemies in the gross, threatening to do it in detail, and then demanding that his discourse should be printed by order of the Assembly. Bourdon made a motion for an adjournment, on the supposition that there possibly might be some errors slipped into the harangue. The possibility of error in the discourse of the dictator of France, the high priest who had voted the Supreme Being into existence, and who had re-established the immortality of the soul, was considered by him as worse than blasphemy, and struck him almost dumb; but not so his enemies; they took courage. Cambon accused him of calumniating the system of finance, Vadier, Feron, &c. &c. brought different complaints against him; and Barrere, his friend, finding that his last hour approached, seconded the motion of Bourdon, and the Assembly passed to the order of the day on the whole business.

Robespierre's last effort was
now

now to be made ; and accordingly, in the night of the 26th, he held a council with Couthon, St. Just, and a few friends, on the necessity of arresting his enemies to the number of near forty, all members of the Convention.

St. Just advised the immediate execution of this desperate measure ; but Robespierre, now for the first time irresolute when the life of an enemy was in question, determined to put off the arrests till the night following, after St. Just should have harangued the assembly, and after the minds of the people should be brought over to his side. This resolution ruined all, and brought upon the Tyrant that destruction which he had himself drawn down on so many innocent persons.

The enemies of the Tyrant were more decided and determined during the same night, that next day they should accuse him on all sides, and by violence and noise prevent any one from speaking in his defence.

It is true, that one must have been in France to be able to conceive with what violence such schemes are executed ; but the imagination may be a little helped by reflecting on this, that the defeated party must expect to be dragged to prison and the scaffold immediately ; and that therefore no soldier who storms a breach in a city wall, can be more earnest in the attack than were the enemies of Robespierre on that memorable day.

As soon as St. Just began to speak in the Convention, on the 27th, a noise was raised on all sides, and cries of disapprobation came from every corner. There was no procuring a hearing ; but as the Tyrant founded all his hopes on this speech, he flew to the tribune, from whence he threatened, commanded, begged, and prayed alternately ; but this last effort of his authority only served to shew him that it no longer existed.—The Convention rose in a mass against its lord of yesterday, and every voice which used to vociferate applause, now vociferated accusation and reproach.

Tallien, in the midst of this, procured a hearing, and, after much reproach, declared, that he could not refrain his tears for the misfortunes of his country ; and while this orator was making a movement to wipe the tears from his eyes, Cambon, who had so long been vexed with the Tyrant for the ridicule which he threw on the finances, cried out, DOWN WITH CROMWELL ; down with the Tyrant. Billaud de Varennes, his friend and counsellor, joined his accusers, and, being better informed than his enemies, told them that Henriot, the commander of the national guards, was a traitor, whom he accused of various injustices.

Accusations came on so thick that they could not be heard, much less refuted ; and Tallien finding, that though the Tyrant was humiliated,

liated, he might yet escape, and by means of the terrible committee be revenged on all his enemies, drew out a dagger, declaring, that if the assembly did not strike the tyrant he would do so himself.—The assembly, in order to prevent bloodshed in the midst of itself, declared Robespierre and his brothers, Couthon, St. Juste, and Le Bas, outlaws, who ought to be arrested.

The order of arrest being given, the messenger or tipstaff approached Robespierre, who put himself in a posture of menacing resistance, on which the tipstaff hesitated and trembled; and it was only after the president had repeated the order several times that he was obeyed.

The outlawry, by a strange species of confusion of ideas, is in France considered as a condemnation, even though it takes place without any trial. The tyrant therefore and his associates were ordered to the Conciergerie, which is the prison of those who are condemned; but by manoeuvre, or by accident, he was not received there, and they all went to the Town-house, where once more the tyrant reigned master, and gave his orders. The municipality or common council was all on the side of the tyrant, as well as Henriot the commander of the national guards, so that all hopes of success were not yet vanished.

The convention for several hours was in dread that its last hour was

at hand, and the armed force was divided; one part marching with cannons against the place of its assembly, and another marching against the town-house; and it is allowed on all hands, that half an hour's advantage in time, or the smallest accident, might have turned the fortune once more in favour of the tyrant. But the assembly profited of its numbers, and sent forty-eight of its members to the forty-eight sections of Paris; others went into the public places to harangue the multitude; and a decree was passed which outlawed the whole common council. The people of Paris accustomed to be guided by sounds, were struck by this decree, and afraid to join outlaws; so that by degrees the partizans of the tyrant decreased in number, and lost confidence in themselves. The Hotel de Ville, or town-house, was then assailed by the troops of the convention, and the band of despots lost all hopes and all courage. Never was any thing more hidden than the destruction that now took place. Robespierre was the first to attempt suicide with a pistol, with which, instead of blowing out his brains, he only shattered and broke his jaw bone. His brother threw himself out of a window and killed himself, and a man upon whom he fell; also, Couthon stabbed himself, but without procuring death. Le Bas and St. Juste made similar attempts; but all of

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them were taken alive about three o'clock in the morning of the 20th.

The Tyrant was conveyed on a litter to the convention, which refused to admit him, declaring, that the presence of a traitor should not pollute its hall; so that he was carried to prison wounded, humbled, and in great agony.

At seven o'clock the same evening, those heroes, with as many of the town council as could be caught, were conducted to the guillotine; making in all sixty-three persons. Never did a croud utter more bitter invective, or shew more signs of real satisfaction, than the Parisians on this occasion. They fully verified all that has been said about their changeable nature; for those who had a few days rent the air with applause, when he acted as high priest in the ceremony of the Supreme Being, now were louder still in applauding his execution. We may easily judge in which case they were the most sincere.

Robespierre made a very pitiable figure when he went to mount the scaffold, and not one of his numerous victims (a few of his associates excepted), ever suffered with such aggravated circumstances of pain and shame. When his head was unbound, his lower jaw fell off, and in this state he was laid under the axe of the guillotine, to which he had in the twenty-six preceding days of the month sent eight hundred victims of all

ranks, of both sexes, and of every age from eighteen to eighty.

Thus fell the greatest tyrant that ever disgraced and punished the human race, after a reign of about fourteen months; and after he had shed torrents of blood, and established so horrible a system of government that language is unequal to the task of describing it in all its strength; and posterity will be unable to give credit to it.

Robespierre, as we have seen, was not entirely without talents, and even some genius, but was infinitely below other famous Ufurpers. Cæsar governed his country, and Cromwell governed; but Robespierre only played the chief part, while the whole French nation, gone mad with a complication of vanity and mistaken philosophy, became robbers and murderers. Sovereign in the committees, and in the assembly, he was a mean flatterer of the people in the Jacobin club. And when we shall have examined him every way, we must be forced to confess, that tho' he triumphed over his opponents, it was not from greater abilities, nor more of them; but because his disposition being the most sanguinary, it was more to the mind of the Jacobin club; and having no heart, his wretched head never was interrupted in its abominable projects.

Marat, it may be said, was more sanguinary, and equally ambitious. True; but Marat was a half-

half-brained madman, and had attachments as well as antipathies: but our tyrant had a cool head and no attachments.

Pythion, Brissot, and many others, were as complete hypocrites as Robespierre. Seyeyes was much more profound, and equally perverse. But not one of them had that uninterrupted system of destruction; not one of them was free from those passions which now and then interrupted their ambitious views. But the whole of Robespierre's vices led one away. His vanity and selfish passions served wonderfully his ambition; for, when he descended to flattery, it was always that he might shew the importance of those he flattered, and be enabled in some future occasion to have it all to himself; and he very seldom lost his labour.

The figure of Robespierre was far from being advantageous; rather under the middle size, he was ill proportioned; his shoulders were broad without the appearance of strength; his head was small, and the lines of his countenance disageeable; a livid complexion, marked with the small pox, and dark looking, like a designing, ill-meaning man, never saying much, and sometimes giving a cynical smile like Cassius:

And when he smiled, seemed to despise himself.

Big boned, ill formed and lean. Robespierre's ambition might originate, like that of Richard the

Third, in his incapacity of enjoying the ordinary pleasures of life; for he neither was formed to enjoy the social bowl, and the pleasures of friendship; nor *to caper in a lady's bedchamber to the lascivious tuning of a lute*. Had he been religious, and lived in other times, he might have been a severe hypocritical hermit; for his passion for independence, and hatred for the human race, could then have felt at least a negative gratification.

The French seemed to breathe as if new life had been given to them when the tyrant fell, and they feared nothing so much as a renewal of his system. A great outcry was made about those disciples he left behind him, who were called the tail of Robespierre; but this seems only to have been a tale invented to discredit certain persons; for those who branded others by this title discredit equally themselves.

The Print which is prefixed to his life, was published in Paris in less than a week after the tyrant fell, and shews how sensible the Parisians were of the horrible tyranny under which they had groaned. If ever a monument is erected to this monster, the following epitaph will serve, written originally in French by one of his countrymen:

Who'er thou art that passest by,

Don't grieve that I am dead;

For had I lived until to-day,

Thou'dst been here in my stead.

The life of Robespierre has taken up a good deal of space ; but it was impossible to pass over any thing that related to so extraordinary a man ; particularly, as the use of history is to teach people by example, and that Robespierre's life is a terrible lesson. During his lugubrious reign, the inflamed multitude invoked the reign of death. *Vive la Guillotine, Vive la Mort*, were substituted for the cry of *Vive le Roi* ; and the throne of Louis was now occupied by the King of Terrors. The flowers of lillies that ornamented it in better days were changed for bitter tears ! And even in this age of philosophy, this age of reason, we cannot help giving it as our opinion, that the finger of the Omnipotent, of that Supreme Being whose existence this impious Scoundrel dared to decree, was never more visibly to be observed, than in sending this monster to purge the country of his brother monsters. For he persecuted his rivals still more unremittingly than his enemies, and he shewed modern philosophy in all its depravity. He shewed us the last stage of La Fayette's *System of Insurrection* ; and his Life should always be bound up with the *Rights of Man* as the *moral* of the Fable.

The private life of Louis XVIth, and of the Queen, will follow in our next ; and then successively that of the DUKE OF ORLEANS, MIRABEAU, BERNAVE, BAILLY, LA FAYETTE, ANACHARSIS CLOOTS, BRISSOT, CLAVIERE, LE BRUN, ROLAND, DUMOURIEZ, MARAT, DANTON, CAMILLE DES MOULINS, SANTERRE, the Brewer, SILLERY, DUPONT DU TERTRE, PYTHION, CONDORSET, TALLIEN, BARRERE, COLLOT D'HERBOIS, and many others.

ANECDOTES.

ANECDOTES.



(Continued from page 40.)

" The 139 individuals taken from these prisons, were only a part of those proscribed; the list contained 155; the copy of the list is joined to the accusation.

" Intoxicated with blood and wine, they scarcely knew their victims, and their eyes refused to read the traces of their crimes.

" Such, in substance, are the crimes of the committee of Nantz; the horrors of which they may be accused collectively are of this deep dye; but individually, and in private life, they were still worse. Goulin commanded despotically his colleagues, and answered to an unfortunate woman who asked for intelligence concerning her husband, *Well! what does it signify to me! the sooner he is dead, the sooner we shall have his riches.*

" Look over the life of Chaux, you will see him at the district frightening all his competitors, and obliging them to knock down to him the estate of Barroffiere. You will hear him, in speaking of ground that suited him, say, *I know how to possess it; I will have the proprietor arrested, and to save his life he will give me the property.*

" Perrocheux bargains coolly for the liberty of citizens. The daugh-

ter of Bretonville solicited him for her father; for the price of his liberty he demanded the sacrifice of the honour of that interesting young woman—He demanded of the female citizen, Ollemant Dudan, fifty thousand livres to save herself from prison.

" The act of accusation states the other eleven criminals to be individually equally guilty, and brings particular charges against each. It then finishes,

" After the above declaration, the public accuser has drawn up the present act of accusation against the aforesaid members and commissaries of the committee of Nantz, for having conspired against the republic, the liberty and surety of the French people, contrary to article 4th of the 1st section of the first penal code, and the 2d article of the 2d section of the said code."

This act being read, witnesses were called, and the following are some of their testimonies:

Lachenette, a doctor, declares as witness. The misfortunes of Nantz may be dated from the institution of the revolutionary committee, composed of the worst of characters. Carrier spoke from the tribune with a naked sabre in his hand,

hand, and lighted up all the revengeful passions. I ought to speak of a placard that appeared, forbidding in express terms, fathers, mothers, wives, or children, to solicit for prisoners: it was thus that the revolutionary committee wanted to stifle the voice of nature, maternal solicitude, filial piety, and the affection of wives for their husbands. I had also knowledge of a drowning of ninety priests. At first the drownings were done during the night, but when the committee became accustomed to the crime, they were executed by day; at first they drowned their victims with their clothes on; but, afterwards, in order to satisfy their cupidity, as well as their cruelty, the committee had their victims stripped naked. I must also speak to you of the republican marriages, which consisted in binding a young man and a young woman together quite naked, and then throwing them into the water.

President of the tribune. Was you an eye-witness to that revolting scene?

Lachenette. I did not witness the frightful spectacle, but the citizen Fratel, his family, and his neighbours, will attest the fact; those who were to be drowned were tied two and two by one hand, and thrown in, in that situation. There are two persons here who, after having been tied, escaped, and can certify the fact exactly.

The President to the accused. Can

you say whether those who came to solicit were well received, and whether in consequence of their memorials, you set any one at liberty?

Goulin, accused. I own, that naturally warm and burning with the zeal, perhaps too ardent and ill-understood, of the public good, not being able to guard against a certain hatred to aristocrats, who came in great numbers to solicit for prisoners, I have sometimes been rough with them; but I was always ready to be just to innocent persons who recovered their liberty.

President. Can you give an instance of one of the persons you have set at liberty by the committee in consequence of memorials presented?

Goulin. There certainly were some such, but I cannot remember them; and it is impossible for me to name one.

President. The citizens acquitted who petitioned you, were they of the number of petitioners, and did you pay attention to their petitions?

Goulin. I have been told of their petitions, but it appears to me that there was no necessity of doing justice to them.

President. Nevertheless, the citizens acquitted were only accused of being *Muscadins* *, or some such slight accusation?

* *Muscadins*—Powdered and scented, or well-dressed people.

Goulin.

Goulin. Very few were confined for that cause ; they were accused of being suspected by the popular society (the Jacobin club ;) besides, by the LAW of the 19th Frimaire, we had a right to imprison them without any denunciation.

President. Who ordered the purification of the prisons ?

Goulin. Carrier, in the most positive terms.

President. But that purification could not be made but by lists delivered by the committee to Carrier, who could only give his consent.

Goulin. It was Carrier himself, who marked out for us the brigands taken with arms in their hands.

President. How many prisoners perished in the prisons ?

Goulin. About two thousand.

President. Who ordered the drownings ?

Goulin. Carrier gave the orders ; on the 25th Frimaire, 125 were drowned. There were other drownings, as I have been told, but have no direct certainty. At that time the prisons were full of brigands, and the design of immolating the whole of those confined was fully justified by circumstances, since there was a report of a conspiracy in the prisons. I maintain that these measures, vigorous as they may appear, were necessary. Parisians ! if you judged the 2d of September necessary, our position

was perhaps still more delicate than your's ; these drownings, revolting as they may appear to you, were not less indispensable than the massacre of the 2d of September, which you committed.

President. Learn to respect the Parisians ; do them more justice ; they are out of the reach of your calumny. Know that the true Parisian is no Septemberizer. Can you say, if amongst those drowned, there were any women ?

Goulin. I assure the tribunal that there were none but men.

President. Look at this list which is signed by yourself, and which will convict you of imposture ; it is a list of 155 persons, amongst whom are fifteen women. The punishment of deportation the 24th Frimaire is signed by you.

Goulin. I maintain, that at their deportation there were neither women nor children amongst them, and that they were taken away from the prison.

President. Is it, or is it not, your signature ?

Goulin. I will not either avow or deny my hand-writing ; but I never had an intention to make either women or children perish.

President. Rather say, that there was an intention of saving them ; but before it was attempted to be put in execution, some were dead, and others guillotined. Were you organized in constituted authorities for the drowning and deportations ?

Goulin.

Goulin. That organization had not taken place; but we were guided by a list of conspirators furnished by Hubert, by the clerk of the prison, the accuser to the revolutionary tribunal, and the jailor's wife. Behold our guarantees, after whom we were not afraid to strike!

President. Behold, indeed, a very authentic guarantee! There only wants one trifle for your defence, truth and probability.

The President to the witness. Can you give us any precise information concerning the drownings and shootings?

Lanchette, witness. I have been witness of drownings done in the day, and can say, that men, women with child, girls, children, all without distinction, have been drowned, shot, or cut to pieces with the sword, on the square of the department, or other places; that the national guards had been employed during six weeks to cover up the holes dug for interring the people who were massacred. They were, it was said, brigands who had laid down their arms, and wives and daughters of prisoners.

Bachelier, the accused. I invite the president to question the witness concerning my moral conduct.

Lachenette. I knew Bachelier to be a humane man, but I can give no account of his revolutionary morality*.

* This shews that the witness was not any personal enemy to the accused; it shews also, that now there were two sorts of morality in France.

Many other witnesses were heard; and the whole proceedings tended to prove the same facts; but that of Phillippes Tronc Joly, president of the committee, is the most to the purpose.

Goulin says, he threatened to decimate the prisoners. There were twenty-three drownings, two of which consisted of priests.

Carrier had given to Faucault, a very criminal man, the power of life and death. Women with child, old men, children, all were drowned. It is reckoned more than six hundred children perished in the waves. I had heard a great deal of the cruelty of Carrier, and I wished to be assured of it by myself. I often invited him to sup with me; at last he came on the 15th Frimaire. Carrier said, on my observing to him that the imprisoned persons were dispatched with precipitation. "But are so many proofs necessary? you will very soon see women sansculottised; it is the readiest way to throw them into the water." He meant to say, that women would soon figure in the drownings.

On the 26th Frimaire, Carrier gave orders to guillotine indistinctly those who laid down their arms, and those who were taken with arms. I asked, if he would sign this order? He said, there could be no objection. I observed to him, that there were children under age. Carrier persisted, nevertheless, to have all guillotined without exception.

tion. I contented myself with taking down the names, age, &c. of the individuals, and did nothing farther.

On all sides people, demanded of the committee the children who were imprisoned. At first the committee promised them, and then refused them, finding that drowning was by much the most expeditious.

The committee has received more than a million, of which it has given no account; it has contented itself with paying in seventy-three thousand livres.

Thomas, witness. Having received an order from the committee to go and inspect a number of women prisoners, who were supposed to be pregnant; I went to the *entrepôt*, there I found a great number of dead bodies scattered here and there. I saw infants palpitating or drowned in troughs full of human excrements. I went across large halls; my sight frightened the women—they saw none but murderers. I explained my mission, and spoke to them the language of humanity; and declared by an act in writing, the pregnancy of thirty amongst them; several were seven or eight months advanced. Some days after I returned to see those women whom their situation rendered sacred and dear to humanity; I say it, my soul was drowned in grief—those unfortunate women had been precipitated into the waves! These facts are

cutting; they afflict humanity. But it is my duty to declare the truth before this tribunal.

Eight hundred women, and as many children, had been deposed in the house of *L'Eperoniere* and *La Mariliere*. But there were in those prisons neither beds nor straw, nor mattresses. The prisoners were in want of every thing. Dr. Rollin and myself saw five children perish in no less than four minutes.—These poor creatures received no food. We informed the women in the neighbourhood, and asked if they could not afford them any assistance; they answered, “What can we do?—Grandmaison imprisoned all those who carry food to those women and children.”

I accuse the whole committee of having delighted in imprisoning the most honest and respectable citizens of Nantz, of having permitted what they call *sabrades*: that sort of execution relates to seven or eight prisoners who went from the committee to be conducted to prison. The conductors finding that it was late, and the road long, massacred these unfortunate wretches under the windows of the committee.

As for the drownings, Goulin thought it witty to call them *baignades* (bathings); the word sounding soft, it offered to him an agreeable idea by the striking contrast between the name and the thing. They likewise called punishments, immersions, verticular deportations

portations. This last name was invented by Carrier.

Towards the end of Brumaire, a boatman, named Perdreau, asked me for a pinch of snuff. "I have earned it well," says he, "I have just been at the execution of seven or eight hundred." Perdreau was drunk. I then tried to profit of the occasion, and find out the truth. What then, said I, how do you manage to dispatch so many people so quickly?

Nothing is more easy, said he; when I *do the bathings*, I strip the men and women, put their clothes into a basket, and bind them two and two by the arms and wrists; they then are made to come to the border of the Loire; they mount two by two into my boat, then two men push them from behind head foremost into the water.

I observed to the boatman, that they might swim on their backs and save themselves; he answered, We take good care of that; we have great sticks with which we stupify them. This is what we call a civic marriage.

Philippe Tronc Joly. Citizens, judges, it is I who prosecute the committee; it is I who have accused Carrier, the representative of the people, as being the accomplice of the committee; it is therefore necessary that his head or mine should fall. The republic must be revenged. I demand that I be carried to prison till national justice shall be pronounced, and

that the convention be informed of my imprisonment.

That demand was greatly applauded by the audience.

The president. Philippes may constitute himself prisoner or not, as he chuses, if any jailor will take him in without orders; but this tribunal cannot grant his demand.

The examinations continued many days, and different witnesses all proved the same facts, with a little variation. Tourrier, director of the hospital, being asked by the president whether he had ever witnessed republican marriages, answered,

I have not seen them, but have heard of them; they consisted in binding an old man to an old woman, and a young man to a young girl; they were left for half an hour in that attitude; they were struck with sabres on the head, and then precipitated into the Loire.

I will, however, say, in favour of Mainguet, that he could scarcely read; that he was only the passive tool of the committee, which obliged him to sign the warrants without knowing their contents: that Mainguet is very ignorant, and rather, I believe, mistaken than guilty.

Any commentary on these trials, or a farther repetition of the same facts, would be as useless as it would be disagreeable. Well might they say, that Nero and Caligula never did such acts of cruelty.

Revolu-

*Revolutionary tribunal prisons,
Le Bon, &c.*

From the things brought against the revolutionary tribunal and the commissaries, as well as the proceedings at Nantz, it would appear, that though oppression and cruelty altered their form a little, it was not very different throughout France.

At Dijon, the Jacobin club had a revolutionary army at its orders, which cost 25 l. sterling per month; and while the revolutionary soldiers pillaged and arrested people, their wives and daughters filled the galleries of the club to applaud the most extravagant amongst its orators. Fouquier Tinville proved, that he was obliged to bring before the revolutionary tribunal prisoners according to lists received. As great numbers of people were accused in one block, and with a great many different sorts of crimes at once. As witnesses in their favour were not heard, and as a few hours served to finish proceedings against any number, let it be ever so great, none could escape, except now and then one through protection or favour.

The deputies of Cambray accused Le Bon, the commissary of the convention, who had been sent into that quarter, of having made the streets run with blood. He was accused of keeping a condemned man four hours at the guillotine, while he read dispatches of arbitrary imprisonments; seizing effects of

prisoners without giving any account, and of having, by summary methods, put to death numbers of innocent persons.

The Jacobin society of Nimes confessed, that that city had been ruled as rigorously as if Robespierre in person had been there. "Bourbon, judge of the revolutionary tribunal," say the Jacobins, "has blown out his brains, having incurred the displeasure of the society for his attachment to Robespierre. The mayor, (Courbis) author of lists of proscriptions, who went each decade with a number of prostitutes to dance *serandoles* round the permanent guillotine, is arrested, and will be judged."

After the death of Robespierre the Jacobin societies themselves began to denounce his cruelties, although his agents were all chosen from these societies, and the societies were the protectors, the aiders, and abettors of his agents all thro' France. Tallien had reason to call those men camelions in politics. It was a true description, but he should have included himself amongst the number.

Extract of the sitting of the Jacobins on the 15th August 1794.

Real.—"In order to make the regimen which is fallen odious, I think it necessary to unveil its disgusting effects; it is by painting the evils and oppressions which were suffered in the prisons,

“ sons, that the indignation of
 “ good citizens will be nourished.
 “ I leave to those who have suf-
 “ fered those persecutions the care
 “ of denouncing them; for my own
 “ part, I shall only say what passed
 “ at the Luxembourg.

“ A regimen of iron; a state of
 “ death and sad mistrust painted
 “ on all the countenances, and
 “ profoundly engraved in their
 “ minds, on account of the spies
 “ introduced amongst them, of
 “ whom the occupation was to
 “ make lists and send them to the
 “ tribunal. The physical and mo-
 “ ral situation of the prisoners
 “ shewed, that it was only a *wide*
 “ *grave* destined to swallow up
 “ the living. We had at first a
 “ humane jailor; his conduct dis-
 “ pleased the tyrants; he was
 “ dragged before the tribunal,
 “ from which he unaccountably
 “ escaped. He was replaced by
 “ another, whom I cannot call by
 “ a more proper name than that
 “ of tyger; he beat and insulted
 “ the prisoners with the barbarity
 “ of a cannibal.

“ One day he abused a gouty
 “ man because he could not walk
 “ quick enough; another time,
 “ he called down a great num-
 “ ber of prisoners to carry them
 “ before the tribunal; the miser-
 “ able victims took leave of their
 “ companions, thinking they should
 “ be seen no more. A young man,
 “ who was called down by his
 “ surname, and afterwards by his

“ Christian name, found there
 “ was a mistake, that he had been
 “ called in place of another. He
 “ explained his case to the person
 “ sent to carry them before the
 “ tribunal, who demanded the real
 “ victim. The barbarous jailor an-
 “ swered, *What does it signify? if*
 “ *this one don't die to-day, he'll die*
 “ *to-morrow.*

“ The prisoners in that terrible
 “ place were perpetually hesita-
 “ ting whether it would not be
 “ better to kill themselves. I will
 “ give you a fact of this sort—A
 “ messenger of the name of Le
 “ Grand was arrested; he soon
 “ after was informed, that his
 “ wife was arrested likewise, and
 “ his four young children left
 “ abandoned. He did nothing but
 “ weep and groan; he sought con-
 “ solation in complaining to all
 “ his companions, and spoke of
 “ his misfortunes to the door-
 “ keeper, who was a German,
 “ and who answered, *Have pati-*
 “ *ence, justice is just; truth is true;*
 “ *it is only a little moment of hard-*
 “ *ship to pass over.*

“ This miserable man threw
 “ himself soon after from the roof
 “ of the prison.

“ When there were prisoners,
 “ against whom there was no accu-
 “ sation, Fonquier Tinville used
 “ to say, we must put them in *the*
 “ *first conspiracy that we make.*
 “ There were at Luxembourg eight
 “ or ten individuals who were al-
 “ ways called to the tribunal as
 “ witnesses,

"witnesses, who styled themselves
"WITNESSES BY PROFESSION."

The conspiracies used to amount to 30, 40, or 50 persons, and one day to 156.—When the accuser made out the lists, he left blank spaces for the names of those who might arrive during the day to complete the number. What is most terrible, is, that citizens who had only been 15 days in prison, were included in conspiracies that were supposed to have existed long before their arrival.

One of the witnesses was frank enough to confess, that one day having something to say in favour

of an accused person, the president told him, *to be silent, and only speak when he had something to say AGAINST the accused!*

One day the administrators made a demand of 200 victims for the following decade, just as if they were sending sheep to the slaughter.

Such were the facts averred in the Jacobin club itself to have existed, whilst all France was resounding with cries of, *Long live the Republic. Liberty and Equality.* Whilst they were calling all other nations slaves, and all Kings Tyrants—
THESE ARE FACTS, AND NOT REASONINGS!!!

REVOLUTIONARY REQUISITION.

WHEN Robespierre's commissaries were upon the recruiting service, the following method was used to kidnap their men:

A small party of the revolutionary army, or of the nearest Jacobin club, headed by a commissary and some assistants, entered into a village or small town; sometimes they had a guillotine mounted on wheels; but in general, loaded muskets served the purpose. The doors of all the houses were shut, and not a soul appeared in the street; then a red flag was hoisted opposite the door of the first house they meant to search. The door was opened by the trembling master.—If he had any sons that suited, they were taken; or if his own person suited better, he was marched off

himself. If his wife or daughters inspired any desires to the banditti, they were compelled to submit to their brutality with every shocking circumstance of insult that capricious fancy could invent. Cries were punished by blows, and sometimes with loss of life, though they were useless; for no neighbour durst look out to see what occasioned them, of which indeed the cause was easily imagined. Money, if there was any found, was always taken; and every place was searched in order to find it, and on pretence of something suspected being concealed.

This operation performed in one house, the band of ravishers and robbers went to another, carrying their man well secured, and
fo

so they made the round of the village. Resistance was sometimes made, and was attended with terrible effects. Whole families have sometimes been shot at their own doors, and frequently the master, after being held till he saw his wife and daughters dishonoured, and obliged to look on, has been taken to the door and shot by way of punishment and example.—These scenes were particularly common in Alsace, where the

people were supposed to be more attached to the ancient order of things than to the new. In large towns, the horrors were not so great, nor the depredations so regular. And in order to commit atrocities there, it was generally thought to be necessary to denounce the master of the house as a *suspected person*, and no protection but that of the Jacobin club was of any avail.

MADAME LA PRINCESS DE LAMBALLE.

WHEN the princess of Lamballe was massacred at the door of the prison of la Force, on account of her attachment to the royal family, her body was exposed naked to the mob, and a Sans Culotte was set with a pail of water and a sort of mop, to wash away the blood as it issued out of the wounds, that her fair form might the better be seen. After the mob had been gratified in this manner for several hours, the head was cut off, and the long flowing hair dressed, to be presented to the king and queen, by way of a very cruel and inhuman insult. The other parts of the body were cut up; one of the legs was put into a cannon and fired off, and other trophies of the terrible day, which decency forbids mentioning, were carried aloft in triumph, and amidst the huzzas of the multitude. Such are men

when let loose upon themselves in a large town. A few hundreds of tygers in a human form, perpetrated the deed at the instigation of some dozen of still more guilty scoundrels, such as Pythion, Danton, Robespierre, Tallien and Marat; and a great number of inhabitants trembling and afraid, looked on and applauded to their eternal shame.

The queen was in a swoon, and did not see the terrible sight, neither did Madame Elizabeth, nor the young princess; but the king was compelled to go to the window of his prison and look out. The princess, whose inanimate remains suffered those indignities, was a stranger, and niece to the king of Sardinia. She came to France to be married to the son and heir of the duke de Penthièvre, one of the richest and most virtu-

ous

ous men in France ; (his fortune amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling a year). Her husband was led into a life of debauchery by the duke of Orleans, who had married his sister, and who took care that impotency and disease should be the consequence of his debauchery, so that he did not live long. The princess was one of the attendants of the queen, to whom she was particularly attached. She was a very amiable woman, and of a sufficient fortune not to be any load on the generosity of her royal mistress ; so that the NATION, as it was called, had not any real grievances to bring against her. All this horrid

conduct therefore was mere wanton cruelty exercised on a worthy object.

As truth is never to be knowingly departed from, we will never give as a fact what is not absolutely certain ; but it has been said and believed, that this unfortunate princess was violated four times on the morning of her massacre in prison ; and that when she fainted away, she was brought to her senses by kicks and blows to suffer a repetition of this horrible treatment. There are many reasons for believing this ; but we have no proof of it, and words are wanting to express the indignation which it inspires.

THE GUILLOTINE.

Doctor Guillotine, who proposed this machine to the national assembly, did it through a motive of humanity, and in fact he was a humane man. The decree respecting it approved of the principle upon which it was proposed, and ordered the *form of the axe* to be determined by the college of surgeons ; and after experiments were made on a sheep, the present flanting form was approved of most.

When the first criminals were executed in this way, some very good observations was made upon it in the Journal of Paris next day.

The physical punishment, said they, is momentary, and therefore must be less than hanging ; but the terror of the apparatus seemed to inflict a cruel moral punishment.—They would have said, if they dared, “ the mercies of the wicked are but cruelty.” In short, said the paper, the people were all of one mind, and thought it worse than hanging. And as Frenchmen are gay upon the most serious occasions, they seemed to sing on coming away in the well known air of Lecuell de Bois.

*Rendu nous notre potence de Bois,
Rendez nous notre potence.*

In

In English.

Give us back our gallows free,

Give us back our gallows.

This observation of the Journalist seems to be well founded, for general Custine, and several other persons, not wanting in personal bravery, have actually struggled with the executioner, through a sort of nervous and involuntary effect; and few persons approached it without starting at the first sight of it.

A model in mahogany was presented to the king, and the poor young dauphin got it to play with. The king was become totally passive when this was proposed; and if he did disapprove of it, would not have shewn it, but he seemed pleased to think that the suffering would be less than in the usual way.

The maiden, of which a model

is under the Parliament House in Scotland, was similar to the guillotine, as at first proposed to the assembly. It was a very old invention, and used at Halifax when the infamous Earl of Morton saw it, and had a model made as he was on his way from Edinburgh to London to negotiate the death of the queen of Scotland. He was afterwards beheaded by one himself; and the Scotch less anxious to obtain the title of philosophers than the French, very humanely and wisely laid aside the abominable instrument, after having tried its effects on the cruel traitor who introduced it amongst them.

We are convinced that when the revolutionary frenzy shall have ceased, this instrument of death will be proscribed amongst the French likewise.

IGNORANT IMPROVEMENT AND AFFECTATION OF SCIENCE.

WHEN the French altered their calendar, they did it in order to destroy the Sunday: they also had a view to be admired and copied; but in this, as in most of their improvements, they shewed only a very superficial knowledge.

Having heard that decimal arithmetic was better from astronomical

and difficult calculations than any other, they divided the day into twenty hours, instead of twenty-four, and made weeks, called decades of ten days, naming the months by the title most applicable at Paris to the production of the month.

(To be continued in our next.)

To

that the revolutionists had a real glory, and where they are not to be blamed, was in the interval of the few days between the dismissal of M. Necker and their being masters of the public force. That short interval had been employed in exertions, which were astonishing for their activity and energy; and which, being in self-defence, can never be questioned as to their motive. And if, afterwards, it turned to a disgraceful revolution, it may be imputed to the ignorance and bad intention of the members of the assembly; who, not contented with turning to advantage an insurrection, must endeavour to perpetuate it, by adopting it as a principle, that to revolt was a sacred duty. They pretended to copy and to quote Rousseau; but in what manner did they do it? The author of the Social Compact could never have conceived an order of things, where perpetual change being adopted as a first principle, there could exist no compact.

If the court abused power when it was in possession of it, and if it let slip opportunity, the revolutionary leader would do the same. As to abusing power, they have done nothing but that, from the time we speak to the present hour. And as to letting slip opportunity, they now let slip one which will never return.

The first insurrection being in a manner ended, by the complete victory obtained, there was an op-

portunity of obtaining a *bill of rights*, and establishing law and order; before the people, who had only been the instruments, should become accustomed to excesses, which would render the establishment of law and order very difficult, if not impracticable. It is well known, that peace and order can never be maintained amongst a turbulent people, but by force and despotism. Those who love liberty should, therefore, take great care not to destroy the love of order and obedience to law in the general mass of the people, as a strong building can never be constructed of rotten materials. If, at that time, the leaders of the popular party could have established the new order of things, as we had done in England, before riot, pillage, and massacre, had become habitual to the people, it might have been a short and happy revolution. But they let slip the occasion; perhaps, from ignorance of the consequences; but, probably, because it did not suit their particular views.

Had the leaders of the assembly been men of property and of plain good sense, as were our English barons at Runnymede, they would have been contented with laying a solid foundation for liberty. But they were mostly men of no property, smatterers in metaphysics and philosophy; who, thinking themselves equal to any task, would not be content with laying the foundations of a better order of things.

N

things. They must destroy the old order, to establish a new one in its place; and risk the safety and welfare of their country, for the sake of wild theories which they had invented, and which were totally impracticable.

In the deserted state of the court, his majesty had been at the assembly to testify his constant desire of making his people happy, and his will and intention to co-operate in every measure that might be thought conducive to such an end. But it was now too late. He was willing to make a sacrifice of power which he no longer possessed, and offered to his enemies what they had already obtained. So that he only increased their pride and audacity, by this humiliating step. Humiliating because it was forced; and doubly so, because it was rejected. Though the same offer made at an earlier period, in a willing manner, would have been equally honourable and useful.

The Duke de Liancourt, the friend of his king, and of the people, though a courtier, and rather too much of a reformer, was the only person who would venture, or, at least, who thought proper to speak seriously to his majesty about some mode of reconciliation with the people. He advised him to go to Paris to shew himself, and to convince the people that he was their friend. Louis XVI. who never refused any personal sacrifice and who, as he has since shewn,

was not destitute of resolution and courage, immediately undertook the dangerous and painful journey.

It was announced in Paris early on Friday morning, that his majesty would be at the town house at two o'clock in the day. On his road, he was met by the armed guard of Paris, who lined the way for eight miles with a double row of new-made soldiers, forming a motley, but to him a horrible spectacle. The greatest part were armed with pikes, sticks, and swords, and a few with muskets; for there were near 200,000 men, and they had neither uniforms nor leaders. Some of the revolted soldiers were interspersed in the ranks.

It was circulated in Paris, that the Duke of Orleans had gone to Versailles, and on his knees requested the king to pay this visit to his people; though nothing was more false; and it is fair, from every circumstance, to conclude, that he would rather have prevented it, had it been in his power.

The tactics of the Jacobins begun already to be put openly in practice. Men, whom nobody knew, and who were not in any sensible situation, ran along the armed ranks, and threatened those who should shew any marks of favour or approbation to his majesty. The factious were afraid that a reconciliation might take place, and their hopes and importance be blasted for ever. The monarch, therefore,

fore, arrived in the midst of an awful silence, and mounted the Hotel de Ville, where he was received by M. Bailly, who insulted him with an equivocal and ill-turned compliment, on presenting him the keys of the city. As no plan was laid by either party to make any solid argument, this journey could be of little advantage to his majesty; but was construed by his enemies as a sanction to every thing that had been done; and certainly it had that appearance, but offered an excellent reason for all the provinces to follow the example of Paris. Whether it happened by accident or design, this ill-fated monarch was always led into measures that were fatal to himself. He had now harboured the cockade of revolt, the livery of the house of Orleans. And those who yet were attached to the monarchy, and who might have been prepared to make a stand, could not any longer find a pretence for doing so; and at the same time, the king derived not one single advantage. A promise to recall the ministers that had been dismissed was made; and the applauses of the people, which were now permitted by the same unknown emissaries who had commanded silence, might rather be considered as cries of victory than of approbation. The king returned to Versailles after a short stay in Paris, assured of the reality of the revolt; but at the same time convinced, that the

people intended him no personal injury, and that he and his family might sleep in safety.

Fresh couriers were dispatched into the provinces, to announce that the king had approved of all that had been done; that the true friends of his majesty should follow his example, and acknowledge the power and justice of the nation.—As the king was an insulated man in his own dominions, without ministers and friends, it was impossible for him to moderate, in any degree, the full effect of those measures, which, otherwise, might have been done, and which, if done in time, might have hindered those excesses which men naturally run into, when they find their career uninterrupted by opposition.

A sort of tranquillity succeeded for some days in Paris; and the well-intentioned citizen thought the revolution was finished. Surely, said he, if it was to diminish the power of the crown that we revolted, that is done. If it was to destroy the Bastille, that is done. Was it to have back the old ministers, in whom they had confidence, they found, likewise, that it was accomplished. They conceived, likewise, as they could act as they pleased, and overturn every thing with impunity, they were free. They thought they enjoyed liberty already, and that of consequence their evils were all at an end.—They did not know, that it was to give their representatives the

pleasure of framing an absurd constitution, and of overturning the religion, the laws, and the property of the country, of corrupting the manners of all, and of ruining their fortunes, that all this had been begun, and that, of consequence, it would not be so speedily finished. All this they knew but too late; and then, in revenge, they taught their representatives their error. The representatives, on their part, were foolish enough to think, that they would always be able to command murder and pillage, and to reap the fruits of it. And they did not know, that the day would come, when the knife that they had sharpened would be turned upon themselves. They never calculated, that in a state of revolution men must be changed as well as measures. And that it must infallibly arrive sooner or later, that their principles and themselves would become equally disgusting; and that he who imagines to make perpetually a tool of others, finds himself deceived.

The Jacobin sect, which now were the masters, being all-powerful, holding the reins of government in its hands, set seriously to work, in securing the continuance of that power which had been obtained over the people.

As it was impossible for any set of men to make themselves certain of always regulating elections, where the general mass of the people was to assist in chusing the ma-

gistrates and other authorities in the state, it became necessary to evade the consequences of this principle, without destroying the principle itself.

We are now going to see another of those curious and adroit manœuvres, by which the people were completely juggled out of their freedom, by the same persons who pretended to make such efforts and sacrifices, to secure it to them upon a foundation, so solid as not to be overturned.

Let a set of men in this nation commemorate the glorious revolution that gave liberty to France, if they will; we may dispute about their intentions, which may be pure, perhaps. But there can in that case be no dispute about their judgment and knowledge of the revolution. They may be pardoned on account of their ignorance, for they know not what they do. The revolution changed, but did not abolish despotism in France; and the change was from a mild and regular government, to a ferocious and disorderly one.

The prosperity of Charles IX. and of Catherine of Medicis, were no doubt prayed for by the college of cardinals, because they had murdered 80,000 innocent men for the sake of religion; just as the 14th of July was celebrated by certain *amateurs* of liberty in England. But the cardinals and the amateurs of liberty, whether were they ignorant or guilty? Did the former think

think the Creator or the Saviour of mankind delighted in blood and murder? or did the latter think that a revolt which overturned a mild despotism, to establish a ferocious one, was favourable to liberty? Their own hearts could only answer this question. But we must allow that they were equally ignorant of what constitutes true religion or true liberty, who were capable of approving of such transactions.

The leaders having already felt that it was impossible to obtain their ends, by establishing liberty; and equally sensible that the appearance of it was necessary, as that alone could obtain for them the support of the people, set to work with their usual energy, intelligence, and success; and the JACOBIN SOCIETY WAS INSTITUTED!

While, on one hand, they worked in making every place be filled by persons chosen by the people, which seems to be the road to liberty and to the reform of abuses; the Jacobin club established in Paris, and composed of the ringleaders of the revolution, both in and out of the assembly, begun by exciting the inhabitants of all the other towns in France to imitate them. The club in Paris corresponded directly with eleven hundred, and upwards, of these societies; which eleven hundred societies had each their circles of clubs in inferior towns and villages, with which they corresponded. So that the total num-

ber of clubs amounted to about fifteen thousand!

As these clubs were therefore so numerous, and carried on a very active and vigorous correspondence; and as they consisted of members actuated with one spirit, there was no difficulty of regulating almost all public affairs. And when they could not regulate, they could counteract any measure, as whom they could not counteract they could denounce. That they did so, we shall see instances perpetually; for the history of the revolution furnishes them in abundance. But as these clubs were self-created; as they were composed of such men as chose to assemble together, the government could not be called one founded upon the general opinion, nor upon the general will, as it was a self-created power that ruled.

The affiliation of the clubs, as it was termed, was an invent on the most inimical to liberty that history has upon record; and the more so, that it deludes the people, by making the miserable voter think that he is free, that it is his own representative that governs, while it is only the Jacobin club. That the conclusion which we have drawn is just, probably no person will venture to deny. For it would be going beyond what the Jacobins themselves have ever ventured, for any one to meet the question fairly. We may therefore be allowed to call a government despotic which is the opposite of liberty; and to say that it

it is a very dangerous sort of despotism which assumes the form of liberty. The friends of that system can have only one allegation to make in its favour; that as the clubs were numerous and self-created, they probably consisted of the majority of the citizens. To this, facts are the best answer.

First of all, in Paris, the Jacobin club did never amount to eighteen hundred. The majority of this club, which might be only about one thousand persons, could not be said to be an assembly of the people of Paris, where the total number of inhabitants was about seven hundred thousand. At Rouen, where the number of inhabitants was above seventy thousand, the Jacobin club consisted of about six hundred; and in the other towns of the kingdom, nearly in the same proportion. Allowing then the utmost latitude in favour of the calculation, the associated Jacobins never amounted to more than one in twenty of the male inhabitants. They were therefore wrong in calling themselves the nation.

It may still be said, that the nineteen out of twenty who were not represented by not being in the clubs, were free to be members, if they chose. The answer to this is, that besides the absurdity, not to say the impossibility of the majority of the inhabitants of a country being members of a club, and assisting at sittings held two or three times a week; what right had any

portion of the nation to insist upon such a condition, which was not consistent with freedom? What right had the Jacobins to say, we will rule over you, unless you join in our clubs, unless you leave your business and vote with us, unless you assist at our debates, and aid in our correspondence with the other clubs? What imposed such a condition upon a people who had thrown off the yoke of despotism, in order to be free? But there were, besides this, means employed by the leaders, to prevent the clubs from becoming too numerous. Men who were moderate in their principles, who did not applaud with enthusiasm the projects of the popular leaders, or who attended seldom, were denounced, threatened, and expelled. In times of crisis, there was still another expedient worthy of the French revolution, which was declaring themselves permanent. So that at any time of the day or night, the president, or vice-president, assisted with the secretaries, and a few members, could carry on the correspondence and pass resolutions. In short, the whole was an infringement on the rights of the people, of the most complete in its nature that ever was known.

In Turkey, and in Morocco, the people know under what despotism they groan. They know who their rulers are. And they know that whatever injustice they may be guilty of towards individuals, they

they must have some regard to the general interest, to the preservation of the whole. They have the satisfaction too of complaining to a friend in secret of their misfortunes. But the miserable French slave, who thinks himself a free citizen, does not know who his masters are. He dares not complain, because every one around him considers that their miseries are the effects of freedom and philosophy; and like the philosopher Pangloss, though ruined and miserable; he has been taught to say, that all is as well as possible.

In the first moments of the revolution, when the assembly was only occupied in pulling down the ancient system, the emissaries of the clubs were every where much more popular than the magistrates, who were suspected of attachment to the ancient government. And as the assembly proceeded in organizing the new government, care was taken to preserve the power of the clubs, by putting so many forms and delays in the way of the executive government, that it was impossible for it to put in force any measures that were not agreeable to the clubs. The king, according to the constitution which was afterwards made, could not send any orders directly to those who were to execute them. The minister for the home department must correspond with the directors of the department into eighty-three, of which France was divided. Those

directors, when assembled, must apply to directors of districts, which were subdivisions of the departments. And lastly, that these were to give their orders, to the municipalities. The time for putting in execution such orders, was more or less, according to circumstances, but was in all cases considerable. Whereas the Jacobin club of Paris could write directly to the club in the municipality, and either be prepared to support or oppose the measure in question. Thus it was, that the sailing of troops from Brest to protect the proprietors of St. Domingo was prevented, by an order of the Abbé Gregoire and M. Brissot, who excited the municipality to disobedience, before the orders of the minister could arrive. Thus M. Neckar was stopped by the Jacobin club at d'Arcy sur Aube, when he left France in 1790. And in the same manner, every day there were acts of opposition to the established government in different parts of the kingdom.

It would be very difficult to conceive any method of more effectually governing despotically a people under the appearance of liberty, than this. It is true, that there is no great depth of judgment necessary to see through it; and nothing is more certain, than that vast numbers of people did see through it. That even the lower class was not entirely deceived, but then it was too late. What remedy could be applied? The many-headed monster

monster had swallowed up the monarchy, and covered the whole of France. And what could the opinion even of a majority of individuals do against it, when unconnected, and without any possibility of uniting? Before any party could obtain a sufficient degree of strength to make head against the Jacobins, they could easily be crushed. And indeed, the moderates and the constitutionalists always were. For the Jacobins kept the correspondence and the place of meeting to themselves; and were by that, infinitely removed from any danger from other clubs.

The government of the Jacobins was certainly strongest, when it acted in concert with the assembly, which it had, in general, the method of governing also, as we shall presently see. But in such cases, as the assembly did not agree with the club, the latter had a great advantage; because the power of the assembly, till after the king was entirely dethroned in 1792, was obliged to have recourse to the circuitous mode already described of the minister, the departments, districts, and municipalities.

As long as there remained any regular form of government in France, under the king, the club was all powerful, and was out of the reach of any danger, except that of a revolt at Paris; to which sort of events, all governments, whether despotic or not must be liable in a greater or lesser degree.

The Jacobin club, it is true, lost a great part of its importance and power, when the king being dethroned, the assembly became a sort of club itself, and expedited its orders in the same prompt manner. It was then, indeed, a different case. And had not the principles of the assembly and of the Jacobins been the same, the club must have fallen sooner than it did. It ought here to be observed, that till the club had fairly brought the revolution to that pitch, that the assembly became a club, it did not lose either its power or importance. And when it did, it was rather a change of name than of nature that took place. For at present, the necessity of going on as they have begun, and of supporting measures so long adopted and applied, has rendered it unnecessary to continue, with all that energy and force that was indispensable in the first moments of the revolution.

Such then was the organization of the Jacobin club, which took its origin from Mirabeau, and its name from the convent of Jacobin monks, where the assemblies were held. And certainly whoever are its advocates in other nations, must either be the friends of despotism and anarchy joined together, or they must be totally ignorant of the real Jacobin government.

If there are any men who have been betrayed into an approbation of the revolution, by the appearance of liberty and philanthropy, which

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HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

(Continued from Page 56.)

AT the same time that this was passing in Paris, the assembly, afraid to separate, continued to sit, thereby appearing to do from firmness, what was really done from fear. For it was much less dangerous for each member to continue in the common hall, than to venture to go home to his lodgings. The same feeling acting upon all, produced the same effect on all, and the assembly was permanent. It probably was this that disconcerted the court, for it is impossible that the first steps of Saturday and Sunday could have been taken without an intention to follow them up with vigour and efficacy; but as they were followed by no measures of any sort, something must have disconcerted their plan, and it was most probably the permanence of the assembly.

The court should have been prepared for vigorous measures, as it could not be supposed that its ene-

mies, having all at stake, would want energy, until all hope was gone of saving themselves by energy. The assembly endeavoured to display that serenity and firmness which were so necessary to impose both upon its enemies and its friends. News from the deputies to Paris, and from Paris to the deputies, could not go freely, but it went so as to assure the leaders of mutual support, and to inform them, in general terms, of the manner in which things went on. During this time, all minds being set to work in Paris, and safety rather than revolt being the common object, the morning of the memorable Tuesday, the 14th of July, began by a more regular plan of operations.

All the arms in the workshops of the armourers having been seized on Sunday evening, those belonging to individuals had been produced on the Monday, but still that

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was far from sufficient to arm one hundred and fifty thousand persons. As there were arms supposed to be in the Bastille, the arsenal, and the hospital of invalids, different detachments of a mob collected early in the morning before the town-house, went from thence to each of these places; but so little was an attack of the fort expected, that at the arsenal and the hospital, not the least resistance was made. The French guards being debauched from their duty, as we have already said, mixing with the mob, gave a sort of conduct, regularity, and appearance of force to these detachments, which intimidated those who might otherwise, perhaps, have attempted to resist. The numerous detachment which went against the hospital having procured a considerable quantity of arms, marched immediately against the camp that was pitched in the neighbourhood; the soldiers, partly debauched like the French guards, and the officers without superior orders, astonished at this audacity, and totally ignorant of the number and force of those who had come against them, and imagining that the people were every where victorious, abandoned their tents, and marched off without resisting.

The party that went against the Bastille, alone met with some difficulty from the nature of the building. It was impossible to walk straight into it, as it was built with all the precautions of an ancient

fortress, though quite incapable of any regular resistance: without any advanced works, and the embrasures of the cannons (of a small calibre) seventy feet from the ground, those who might attack the drawbridge and the gate, run but little risk. The strength of the gate was the real measure of the force of the Bastille; had it been occupied by a garrison, and supplied with what is necessary for a siege. But the garrison consisted of a few invalids, without provisions for one day, and commanded by a man who had been very capable of acting as a keeper of a prison, but was very incapable of defending a fortress as a governor.

The state of the Bastille only permitting a negative defence, the proper way would have been to have kept the gate shut, and to have waited, without any offensive act: but de Larnay, the governor, lost whatever presence of mind he had. A few random shot, which went to a distance, were fired from the cannon on the top, and some musketry discharged from the narrow windows that are to be seen in most old fortifications, for the purpose of using small arms. This only exasperated the mob, which from its numbers, and the situation of the streets, could not retreat; as the crowds which were out of all danger, would not make way for those who were foremost, and who run some little risk. This tumultuous attack was continued from

from eleven o'clock in the morning, till about four in the afternoon; at which time the gates were opened, upon a promise from those who directed the people at the town-house, of mercy to the governor and garrison. All the accounts of bravery on one side, and resistance on the other, which were spread abroad with industry, were not merely exaggerated: they were absolutely without foundation, though they were far from being without utility to the popular side. On a pretence of treason, the governor and the sub-governor were carried to the Place de Greve, before the town-house (with all manner of blows and ill-usage on the road) where their brains were blown out, and, shortly after, their heads cut off. Two private invalids were hanged to the lamp iron, opposite the town-house, and were the first sacrificed by that mode, which was for some time so popular, and so highly in vogue amongst the mob in all the towns in France. The Prevot des Marchands, who had presided at the Hotel de Ville, was treated in the same manner as the governor, because he was supposed to have betrayed the people, when, in fact, he had only betrayed his king. Thus the man who had presided over the revolt during about thirty-six hours, and who had signed the order for wearing the party-coloured cockade, fell a sacrifice to those passions which he had assisted to rouse, and endea-

voured, without either fortitude or abilities, to direct. He was thus the first instance in the present revolution, of the danger that there is in conducting the people, as de Lawnay was of the folly of believing them. For, when under the influence of fear, the people stop at nothing that is thought conducive to safety; and, when masters of the field, their victims are pointed out by their caprice.

The taking of the Bastile furnished the people of Paris with an ample subject for boasting and admiration, as well as with materials for inflaming the minds of the people; as they got possession of a large collection of printed books and manuscripts, that had been suppressed by government; and, besides these, of the registers of that famous prison.

The success of this day which had put the arsenal, the Bastile, and a great quantity of arms in possession of the people of Paris, was a death stroke to those who supported the court. They now considered themselves as undone; and such of them as yet remained in Paris endeavoured to escape by every means in their power. There was now a complete change on the countenances and in the minds of the inhabitants. The consternation of the two preceding days, gave place to a joyful triumph. Their own bravery was celebrated by themselves, and magnified without difficulty, on account of the confu-

sion and general enthusiasm. They thought that they had taken the Bastille by storm and irresistible efforts. The French guards were at the service of the citizens, who, by a sudden, but not an unnatural transition, displayed a confidence and security equal to their former fear. The only anxiety that now remained, was concerning the assembly at Versailles.

Events not only had succeeded with such rapidity, but had been so multiplied, that it was impossible to send to Versailles any distinct or true account of what happened. Accordingly, the news that arrived in the evening and night between the Tuesday and Wednesday, were all of a very confused nature. It was, however, generally understood and believed, as in Paris, that the victory had been obtained by unexampled prodigies of valour. The heads of the men who had been murdered, having been carried upon pikes all through Paris as a spectacle to the people, had afforded not only a certain proof of the reality of the victory, but of the ferocious disposition of the conquerors. The whole being then seen under the complication of circumstances the most capable of astonishing, did not fail to produce upon the deputies and the court a complete change.

The assembly, which had considered its existence as menaced every hour, took now the tone of conquerors; and the deputies of

the two orders, who had hitherto seemed to join the third estate with reluctance, now assisted with cordiality. For, though they knew that the victories of Paris might be false or exaggerated, they were sensible that the court was incapable of making any effort in their favor.

The form of the states general, deranged in the beginning by the new manner of election, had since been totally changed, by an early exercise of power, in altering the name from that of States General to *National Assembly*. Secured by their own perseverance, by the energy of the people of Paris, and by the pusillanimity of the court, from any personal danger, the deputies assumed another tone. It was resolved, that they should dispatch messengers through the whole kingdom, to inform their constituents of what happened; to rejoice with them at the fall of a faction, which meant, as they pretended, to have burnt Paris; dissolved, and perhaps massacred the assembly; and established despotism on a more firm basis than ever. This was a natural enough measure, and something of the sort was even absolutely unavoidable. Here begun to be seen the immense advantage which a numerous assembly enjoys in swaying a whole people, when actuated by one general interest. Without loss of time, each deputy wrote to his own province, and the assembly composed a general relation of the affair; in which,

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if the bravery of the Parisians was augmented, their own firmness was not diminished. Throughout France, all intelligence having been suspended for three days, this produced completely the effect intended. The whole of France turned to the side of the Parisians, and approved their measures. But a simple approbation was not what the leaders of the revolt wanted. They wanted support and participation, that they might run no risque from a change. The administration of the public affairs, in every town and in every province, belonged to people placed by the king; who could not expect to be trusted, or remain in office, if the revolution continued. From the governors of provinces, and magistrates of towns, who had the administration of all public affairs in their hands, opposition was therefore to be dreaded; and was not to be risked. We are now going to see the most curious and most successful manœuvre that has ever been practised in any revolution, and it was Mirabeau by whom it was planned and conducted.

Before there was any time to recover from the fear, astonishment, or enthusiasm, which the first news had spread, men were seen going through the whole of France, men who were strangers in the places through which they went, announcing the arrival of ten thousand brigands, or plunde-

rs. The brigands existed no where, and were dreaded every where. Every town in France, in proportion as the rumour arrived, felt itself in danger, nearly as Paris had done on the Sunday and Monday; so that they armed. And in a few days after, came a decree of the assembly, regulating the national guards of Paris, and directing every town in the kingdom to follow the same plan. The authority of the assembly might probably not have been sufficient to put arms in the hands of the people, contrary to the will of the magistrates, and for the avowed purpose of revolt; but the fear of the brigands, whom nobody ever saw, and every body heard of, had already done that; so that it was now too late for the magistrates to attempt to resist. And the example of the Prevot des Marchands, at Paris, was a sort of hint what the consequences of such an attempt might naturally be, and therefore served to co-operate with the other equal and active measures which had been taken.

Thus was an armed militia, amounting already to above two millions and a half of people, instituted in less than fifteen days over the whole extent of France; and not only were they instituted, but in activity, and in a condition to operate whatever the assembly might order, or their own views of things might point out. It was a general force, capable of receiving an impulse from one common center,

center, but possessed of an enthusiastic energy, that, had it always been directed to one good end, would have constituted a power such as no nation ever possessed in the world.

While the leaders of the people created, as if by a supernatural effort, a new military, as well as civil power, all through the kingdom, the court relinquished the small degree of authority which it had till then possessed. Among the cries of victory, imprecations and threats of vengeance against the enemies of the people had been heard in Paris; and it was reported at Versailles in the same breath, that the Bastille was taken, the governor murdered, together with all those who remained faithful to the court; that their heads were carried in triumph by the people, who had threatened to march to Versailles, to be revenged in the same manner on its oppressors. The Count d'Artois, famous for his pleasures, his expences, and what was termed his aristocracy, together with all the new ministers, were menaced. Between the moment of receiving this intelligence and the flight, the interval was but short. The Count d'Artois, with all his family, left Versailles that same night. The new ministers, who had not yet begun to act, followed his example. The Prince of Condé from other motives carried off his family likewise. And, in less than twenty-four hours, the court of

Versailles was almost deserted, and those who remained shared in the inquietude and astonishment of the royal family!

It was of too great importance for the assembly to be able to guide the movements of Paris, for the attempt not to be made. Accordingly, on Wednesday evening, a numerous deputation of the three orders arrived, to fraternise with the leaders of the insurrection. The different dresses of the orders, at first excited amongst the people a sensation of approbation and pleasure. The nobles displayed for the last time their elegant Spanish habiliments; and the people saw with pleasure, which soon changed to a different sensation, those descendants of the feudal lords reduced to the class of simple citizens. The simple and inelegant, or rather boyish, dress of their own deputies, afforded at first view a contrast that by no means was agreeable, even when they reflected on what was, in times past. But, when they turned their eyes to the present moment, and found the deputies were all of equal importance, with this difference, that the deputy of the third estate was playing a willing part, while the other acted a forced one, vexation and anger soon succeeded.

The people of Paris, equally occupied to give orders, and to execute them, had determined in their sections on the destruction of the Bastille, and it was actually begun. An immense crowd had
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mounted upon its parapet, and by mere human force, had begun to throw down the large stones of which it was built. The deputies arrived at Versailles, confirmed the decree of its destruction; and mounted upon its battlements, to encourage the people who were at work. The Bastile had been employed only for prisoners sent by letters de cachet without any trial. It was, therefore, considered, from its peculiar appearance and public situation, as a sort of despotism personified; and there were few who did not feel a pleasure in seeing it fall. The enthusiasm of liberty was not a little increased, when the people saw the nodding plumes of feudal lords, commanding the destruction of this remain of feudal power. It had a theatrical sort of effect, and inspired people more and more with the love of liberty, and a hatred for the despotism.

Two men had rendered themselves conspicuous in the assembly, Monsr. Bailly, an academician and astronomer, of a good private character, and who had already been president; who had distinguished himself for his presence of mind and firmness, and who was strongly imbued with the ambition and philosophy of the revolution. The Duke of Orleans and Mirabeau saw in him a man fit for their purpose. And by raising a man of reputed integrity, and a man of learning, to such a situation, the confidence of the people would be obtained,

and men of letter in general be attached to the revolution. This last was not, perhaps, immediately any great object, but promised ultimately to be so. For, as the new principles spread amongst the people were all of them supported by false reasonings, it was of a double importance to secure the support of those men, who, as friends, could support the new principles, or who, as enemies, might destroy them. M. Bailly was proposed as mayor of Paris; the name of Prevot des Marchands being declared infamous, with the memory of the unfortunate de Flesselles, who had last bore it.

M. de la Fayette, already publicly known, not for any distinguished conduct in America, but for his having been there, his having the honour to call himself the friend of General Washington, his having distinguished himself as a friend of liberty, such as they understood it in France, was proclaimed by popular assemblies, commander of the armed multitude.

M. de la Fayette was one of those men who, with a great concealed ambition, had patience enough to wait for opportunity to gratify it; and who, being allied by marriage to the family of Noailles, one of the richest, most numerous, and most intriguing at court, was powerfully stimulated and supported.—La Fayette's other passions being entirely subservient to his vanity
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and ambition, he had few of those vices that hurt a public man with the public. Although not agreeable to the Duke of Orleans, who would have preferred a man that loved money to an ambitious man, he was not at that time very disagreeable; and there was not any method of bettering the matter. He, therefore, met with his support also. And as both he and M. Bailly were of the first deputation, they were proposed and proclaimed by the people. Insurrection was then, to use their own expression, organised, and two ambitious men placed at its head; the first of whom laboured under great personal obligations to the king,* and the second was going quite contrary to his instructions, as a representative of the order of the nobles.

A system, however plausible it may otherwise be, that is founded upon a false basis, must in the end lead its followers to ruin and error. Bailly and La Fayette vindicated their conduct under the plea of the general interest, the good of the people, and the cause of liberty.—Vain illusion and despicable subterfuge! as if the interests of mankind and their happiness, could ever permanently be advanced by what was in itself criminal. As if

* M. Bailly had a pension from his majesty, and apartments in the palace of the Louvre. His other faults might have been forgiven him, had he not added such black ingratitude, which ought not, and never can be forgiven.

their standing forward to head the revolt were necessary, which consummate vanity alone could make them think. Mirabeau had never received the favours of a court, and he had sometimes felt its oppression. He did not, therefore, add ingratitude to his crimes. His conduct was not unnatural; and his faults, great as they were, might be forgotten. But the mayor and the commander had not the pecuniary necessities of Mirabeau to plead as an excuse, and Mirabeau had no ingratitude with which he could accuse himself.

We shall see in what follows, that though these men were unfit for a revolution, yet they were not unfit for the beginning of one. On the contrary, perhaps men of steady principles and firm conduct would not have served the cause in question so well. Anarchy was the business, and the best men to bring it about were such, as, having double views and little means, make their court to every party, and are useful to none in particular. It is true that such men can never expect to ride out the storm, but that is their own affair. And we never see, that there is any difficulty in finding those who are willing to try, when they have it in their power.

It will be an important lesson for all future nations, as well as for individuals, to observe how their errors ended, in bringing destruction upon all those who assisted in this revolution. The only moment
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which an affectation of philosophy and virtue gave to the decrees of the first assembly; and who are unwilling to believe that France groaned under such a great degree of despotism as that which we have been describing, let them say whether they have found any of the decrees adhered to, except when it suited the general system of destruction and plunder. Individual liberty, and the protection of property, decreed by the assembly, and included in their famous rights of man, were they ever attended to? and yet they are essential to liberty and order in society.

Will the greatest friend of the revolution say, that it was entirely through ignorance that the constitution was so constructed, as neither to be capable of being executed, nor of affording force to protect itself? No, that would not pass; men who succeeded so well in most of their endeavours, could not be so weak. They calculated that it was impossible to be always representatives of the people, but they might always be members of the club: And the calculation had but one fault; which was, that in a state of confusion, such as they were creating, nothing could be permanent; every thing must be progressive. And that though the club was the chef d'œuvre of the revolution, both for permanence and for power, still it must partake of the nature of the foundation on which it was built.

The success with which the leaders of the French revolution found the work of anarchy go on, and the ease with which they governed all France, tyrannically, by means of the affiliation of their clubs, enabled them to make every apparent sacrifice of power to the good of the people. Supreme masters of France, the assembly seemed superior to every consideration that its own power and interest inspire, and to attend to nothing but the will of the nation. To those who were at a distance, and did not know the double mechanism of the machine, justice, and a strict regard to the general good, might appear to be the only guides for their conduct. But the appearance of the thing is completely changed, when it is discovered that the assembly, and the laws which it made, were only the means employed to please, to delude, and to deceive. The most humane and just laws seemed to spring from the representatives of a great nation; they inspired confidence, and afforded a prospect of being free and happy. The difficulties left in the way of the execution of these laws, seemed an imperfection, but an imperfection that it was thought had arisen from being too jealous of liberty, and the rights of the people. The executive power, which was the medium through which the people were to see those good and humane laws put in force, was enfeebled. And it was thought, that through

an excess of delicacy and philanthropy, the assembly had enervated even the power of doing good, lest it might be applied to do evil. So uncommon an appearance of moderation, was very capable of leading those who observed it into an error; and from this the Jacobins aspired at the hope of establishing their government over the whole of Europe; in every country of which they found they had converts and admirers.

It is certainly changing the appearance of things much, to draw the curtain aside, and shew their real motives: That their executive power, was only as one of them said, (*un hochet d'enfant*) a child's rattle, as were also their philosophical principles. They were made to please and to amuse; while the true executive power lay in the Jacobin club, and its will constituted the law of the land.

It is no disgrace to strangers, to have been mistaken as to the real state of things, because they only saw them from a distance. But certainly it may be expected, that men who were led into an error by the false appearance of things, through a love of liberty, will change their opinion when they know the real state of the matter. Every argument that can be used, and every fact that can be produced, in the history of the government of France, will prove that the Jacobin government was such as we

here represent it. And we may challenge the world to produce an instance, wherein the laws and principles of the assembly triumphed, when put in opposition to the will of the club, during the first four years of the revolution.

That the club met with occasional contradiction from its own members, is true. A schism had arisen, but the club itself always obtained the victory; and drew down signal vengeance upon those who had dared so to oppose its will. When M. Bailly had withdrawn from the club, and, as mayor of Paris, wished to oppose the force of the law to its arbitrary will; he proclaimed martial law, and applied it to a disorderly mob. M. Bailly was not after that re-elected mayor of Paris. He soon lost his place; and, finally, was ignominiously put to death on the very spot where the law had been executed.

The momentary triumph of M. Bailly, far, then, from being any proof of the submission of the Jacobins to the law, is, on the contrary, a complete proof of their being superior to the law.

When any schism or division arose in the club, the members who retired, immediately invoked the constitution, for they knew how much that and Jacobinism were at variance. This occasioned numerous inferior squabbles; and finally terminated in the revolution of the 10th of August, 1792, when

that

the club triumphed over every thing that had the appearance of law!

The assembly had no sooner made a sort of coalition, with the people who headed the Parisians, on the fourteenth of July, and the king returned to Versailles, than every possible measure was taken to destroy the ancient form of things. Even the names, in many instances, were changed; and there were people who already talked in public places, of the agrarian law.

The writings of Voltaire, Montesquieu, Raynal, Rousseau, and Mably, were ransacked, for whatever was favourable to republicanism, inimical to injustice, and to ill-founded prejudice. But these passages were taken only as it suited those who took them. They were changed and exaggerated; and then from the mouths of the orators of the assembly, passed into those of the lowest rabble. The social contract, and other ingenious reveries, were made use of to lead people astray. For confusion and disorder could never be solidly founded, but upon wild notions, instilled into the minds of those who were to be the instruments of the projected revolutions.

Mons. Mounier, a deputy from the province of Dauphiné, was one of the most eloquent and reasonable men, of those who were tinctured with the new philosophy and love of change. Of consequence, his project for the rights of man

was adopted, as being the best. It was to serve as a basis for the new constitution, and all laws made were to be framed, so as to correspond with it.

Amongst the articles of the rights of man, INSURRECTION was not the only one, but it was ranked as a duty (*un devoir*;) and thereby the fatal principle was adopted of the perpetual right of the people to change their government at pleasure. M. Mounier soon found out his error, but still he found it out too late. And the very interesting account which he rendered of his conduct, six months after, when he had been chased from the assembly, is one of those that throws the most light on the Jacobin transactions at the beginning of the revolution.

The principle of revolt is a very curious one, if we consider it when weighed against, *the will of the majority being the law of the whole.*—In a small state like Athens, the majority might rise in arms and change the government, because they found themselves all in one place, and could see which was the majority. A majority of the inhabitants of Paris might do the same. But then, a majority of Paris was but a small number, in proportion to a majority of the kingdom. And in the moment of rebellion, it never could be possible to know whether the revolt corresponded with the general will.

It has always been the practice of the Jacobins, like other sects

that want to lead people into error, to make use of a sort of jargon that confounds the understanding; and, when new words were not invented, to apply old ones in an unusual way. The very name of insurrection, implies the effort of the weaker against the stronger, or against the rulers placed over the insurgents, by the will of the majority. The insurgents then must, from the nature of things, be totally incompatible with any sort of government whatever, as well as with the vices of the majority. For it is of no importance for nine-tenths of a nation to make laws, if the other tenth has a right to overturn them; which is not only the natural consequence of the principle, but has actually and literally taken place. Several insurrections in Paris, have changed the whole system of law and government, at different times, during the revolution, and not one of them consisted of fifty thousand people. The insurrection of the tenth of August, which destroyed the constitution and the monarchy, did not amount to half the number; so that it was not at any rate one-hundredth part of the kingdom.

Those who decreed the principle of insurrection, might, perhaps, be ignorant of its consequences at the time; but they did not remain so long. They at first found means of turning it to their advantage, but at last, fell all of them sacrifices to it.

The moment that insurrection is to regulate a kingdom, the capital will become in the end the mistress of the whole. For, it is from the capital which the general movement alone can be given that sanctifies the insurrection. Thus we have seen every insurrection in Paris rendered sacred by the support given to it by the whole kingdom; while the insurrections of Lyons, and other towns, have drawn down upon their inhabitants the heaviest and most cruel vengeance.

By thus striking at the root of social order, the leaders of the revolution, perhaps, only meant to sanction what they had done. But, if so, they were doing what was unnecessary. For where strength and success are, no sanction is wanting, except what men receive from their own breasts; and that is not to be obtained by a creed of their own making. But, whatever their intention might be, it served completely the purpose of deluding the multitude, who did not stand much in need of such a stimulus, and who now no longer considered obedience of any kind, but as a meanness and slavery.

It might naturally have been expected, that, when the deputies found themselves at leisure, they would consult their cahiers, that they might at least know the intentions of their constituents. But this they never did, nor talked of doing. And it is not without truth and justice, that they have been
accused

accused of having revolted against their constituents, as well as against their king, and with still less reason. For the king had given them some cause; and, perhaps, even the plea of necessity might be urged. But they had no such plea with regard to their constituents.

The manner of resolving this question, was too shallow to deceive any one. Nevertheless it served the purpose, among a people who talk a great deal, but seldom reflect seriously upon any thing. The reason that they gave, was, that as they had continued under the name and form of states general, they would have consulted their instructions; but, having become the National Assembly, that was not a necessary form. It was thus that Cromwell, under the title of Protector, did what he could not have done under that of King.

If there can be any difference between two things where the essence remains the same, and where the end to be answered is the same, then this reasoning might have been good for something. But, let the name be changed as it might, the deputies were chosen by the people, and were intended to procure happiness for the people. Though the power which they had obtained by the victory over the court, gave them the means of carrying their reforms something farther than their constituents had dared to expect, still that was no reason for not consulting their instructions. Besides,

as the change of name was their own act, and done without either the consent or knowledge of their constituents, the relation between elector and representative must either have remained entire, or it must have been destroyed altogether; as no act of one side only could change the original nature of the connexion between them.

The intention, covered by the change of name, was seen through by most people at the time. It was considered as a means of diminishing their obedience to their king, and their duty to their constituents, and setting them above all those laws and formalities which existed with respect to the states general. Besides this, they dazzled the eyes of the multitude, whom they flattered, by taking to themselves the name of the nation. A national assembly seemed to be a name above every name. It seemed to comprehend powers of every sort, by the appearance of national identity which it assumed. Had the name been changed after the revolt of the 14th of July, it might have been considered as a mere affair of necessity; but it was done before, and therefore done by choice. Or after it had been changed, if the deputies had consulted their instructions, it would have been a proof, that they did not intend to set them aside. But no such thing was ever mentioned by them; so that the assembly might, in fact, be styled a self-created one, as it

pre-

preserved none of the marks of that body of representatives of the people, which were essential to their exercising legislative power. It was the Abbé Seyeyes who proposed changing the name. As he has since been the counsellor of Robespierre, and still chamber-counsellor to the ruling party, his ambition is as evident as his want of moderation.

That the assembly established its right to legislate, by its having force at its command, is true; and that it was, therefore, as legitimate a government as that of most absolute thrones must be allowed. But when the members called themselves the representatives of a free people, were they saying true? No, certainly; to be such, another election and primary assemblies would have been necessary. But it was very unnecessary for their ambition and private purposes; and therefore neither a new election, nor the duties which the old one imposed upon them, were ever thought of.

As it is just about this time, that the foundation of all the labyrinth of crimes and errors into which the people were led, was firmly laid, it will be most conducive to order, to consider the different principles that led to them under different heads.

The foundation of the system of anarchy, pillage, and murder, were laid on the following principles:

1. That insurrection is one of the rights of man.

2. That the good of the public is the supreme law, before which all others are to give way.

3. That all men are born and remain equal in rights.

4. That men are never bound by what their ancestors have done; this last is only a kind of repetition of the perpetual right of insurrection.

We have already seen how incompatible the principle of insurrection is with the will of the majority, which never can be known at the time an insurrection takes place. And from this it arises, that as anarchy was what it was intended in the first instance, to establish the jarring of the principles amongst each other, rendered them of a double utility. As every order of things establishes an inequality immediately, the third principle was at all times ready to set the two others at work.

The elements of discord and anarchy could not have been better chosen; and, perhaps, in future times, it will be considered as a discovery equal to that of original colours. For let anarchy assume what shape it may, its origin will be found in one or more of these principles.

The first principle legitimates resistance to the law, whenever those who resist shall have the means of employing force. And obliging their fellow citizens to follow their example, where this is the general practice, a perpetual
state

state of warfare and revolution must be the inevitable consequence.

Perhaps, amongst a people like the inhabitants of North America, the same principles might not lead to such fatal consequences. Because there, the people, both by their situation as individuals, and their habits of life, would be led to make a different use of such rights. In a country where every man is either a proprietor, or has the prospect of becoming one by regular industry, property must naturally be respected, and industry considered as the surest road to obtain it. But in an old vitiated state of society, where fortunes were become very unequal, where nine-tenths were not proprietors, and had very little prospect of ever becoming so, it was absolutely necessary to consider of some manner of securing the peaceable inhabitants from the attack of that part of the society; who having nothing to lose, considered the whole world as a fishing pond, in which they are to fish as well as they can, and who compose the majority at an insurrection; though common sense would revolt at their being admitted into a deliberating assembly, to become there the majority.

The *unlimited* liberty of the press, was also the consequence of these principles. So that sedition, treason, and every kind of calumny, became quite common, and rendered it equally impossible to live peaceably in society, or to admi-

nister justice, and regulate public affairs.

Every man who chose to do so, set to work with denunciations and scandal, and did society thereby a great deal of mischief. Mistrust and suspicion reigned. Peaceable men, tired of a contest where the anonymous villain had the advantage, or afraid to shew himself as a mark for their arrows, withdrew from public affairs, which were by degrees left to the care of the abandoned and the desperate.

In speaking of the evils which might naturally be expected to arise from these principles, when applied to the government of such a large and corrupted nation, we do not by any means go beyond, nor even approach, the miserable state to which they have since reduced that country. It is even astonishing, that they have been carried to such lengths as we have since seen, because the poorest individual has lost by the bargain. The maximum of personal enjoyment, is now reduced below what formerly might be called the minimum; that is to say, the general run of people are worse in their situation, than the poorest class of working labourers was before the revolution!

The members of the first assembly, have said in their own vindication, that they at first laid down, unlimitedly, the principles of things; they afterwards fixed rules and bounds for their application; as if a decree regulating the form of an insurrection

insurrection was not an insult upon common sense. Why did not the philosophers of 1789 decree laws for the form of the waves of the ocean, or assign bounds for the flames of the fire; for they are all equally capable of being directed. When the storm does not agitate, the waves cease to rage; and the flames are regulated by the elements which surround them, and the food which they feed upon. A mob in insurrection has likewise its regulator, which is composed of its will and its power. Where they correspond, the insurrection must go on. Where they do not, it must stop. And thus we have seen the apostles of the system of which we speak, fall alternately sacrifices to the principles of insurrection. We have seen them torn in pieces by those very men whose passions they have fired up; and thereby taught, from sad experience, to know, that their tardy laws to regulate calumny and insurrection, and to explain away their original definition of equality, was of little use. They administered the poison, and let it operate long before they applied a feeble antidote; which could not have prevented the effect of its operation, even if it had been sooner resorted to, but which, when thought of too late, betrayed either a want of judgment or a bad intention.

We might attribute naturally, and it would be most agreeable to

us to do so, to an ignorance of the consequences that would arise, the throwing out a general principle in an unlimited sense, and leaving a long interval, before any attempt was made to set bounds to its application. But there are several reasons which shew, that it was done with design, and not through ignorance. First of all, it has been the constant practice of the assembly. Secondly, the aristocratic party generally warned them of the danger of doing so. And, lastly, in such cases as it suited their own purposes, we have always seen that they were not ignorant, but very acute in their examination of the probable consequences of things. It would, therefore, be wrong to impute this to ignorance. However, if there can be any doubt on the subject, that doubt is fully resolved by themselves, on different occasions since. They have never dared to speak against the holy insurrection! But Condorcet, Brissot, and others, both in their speeches and writings, have signified, that insurrection might last too long, that it might at last aliment itself with what was precious, instead of what required to be destroyed; and such jargon as this, from which nothing can be understood, but that they disapproved of insurrection, in a general sense, as much as any of us do; but that they made use of it when it answered their own purpose.

(To be continued.)

IGNORANT IMPROVEMENT AND AFFECTION OF SCIENCE.

(Continued from page 80.)

TO pass over the error in calculation, which they made of a whole day, which they have already been obliged to correct. They committed an inexcusable error in changing the only things in which all the civilized nations of Europe agree, namely, dates, and which is a great advantage to every commercial people. This was an error in common sense, as well as in astronomy. There are, at least, two months of the year that equally deserve the name of Nivos or the month of Snow, and the month Floreal, Germinal, Prereal, &c. are different in the south of France, and in the north of it; and particularly so now, that the great republic extends from Marseilles to Bois le Duc.

On the other hand, the division, by decades, is not so convenient as by weeks of seven days, four of which make a lunar month, and fifty-two of which make a year all but one day; while their decades have five odd days in every year.

The remonstrance made by the French themselves about the clock-dials, and watch faces, all over the kingdom, being to be altered, and a minute being no longer than the accustomed minute; nor an hour than the usual hour, was a very wise one. But that is not all, for though decimals are the best for multiplying, they are not in all cases the best for dividing, as ten neither divides

by four, nor by three, without fractions, which twelve does; for which reason it was most probably first chosen for the hours.

The first, or constituent assembly, chose to make their money livres, Tournois, or equal divisions of it, which was very wise and well. And the vanity of imitating that assembly, led their followers into *decimal time*, which has none of the advantages of *decimal money*; at the same time, that the change of money made it easier for strangers to understand, and did not derange any thing.

If the science and common sense of the convention are to be estimated by the calendar, they will be found to be very low indeed. And we shall have occasion to give instances of other blunders, which will justify us in judging of them by this, though we do not pretend to say, that so far as related to the Sunday, they did not act with effect, particularly when seconded by the threats of such men as Joseph le Bon. "I shall," said he, "give orders not to leave one stone upon another in those villages, where the peasants go better dressed upon the ci-devant Sabbath than on any other day." Another commissary, by way of wit, said, "If they don't like my *decimal arithmetic*, tell them I will *decimate* them."

P

A SIMILITUDE.

A SIMILITUDE.

The French revolution was likened, in a very elegant and well written tale, that was published in the year 1791, to a loaded waggon running down a hill, and pushing the horses before it, while a number of robbers were applauding, in hopes to divide the booty, when it should be overturned. It has literally turned out so; and we must confess, it has been pretty handsomely pillaged, even more than the writer of the tale could well imagine.

If those who never have been in a revolution, wish, however, to know what it is like, let them imagine an immense croud of people all in motion, either struggling to obtain a particular end, or try-

ing to avoid, by flight, some particular disaster. The motion in either case once given, neither reason nor any thing else can stop it all at once, or at a fixed point, because individuals will become subservient to general movement and impulse. So that there is no possibility of acting in any direction different from that, much less is there any possibility of stopping. Those, therefore, who speak of revolutions, should calculate this; that it is impossible to stop at a fixed point, but that when once begun, they must go till the whole stops of its own accord, or till the desire of stopping becomes as general and as strong as it was at the first beginning to move.

MANLY AND DIGNIFIED BEHAVIOUR OF THE
KING OF FRANCE,

AT AND BEFORE HIS EXECUTION.

AS the French have continued to celebrate the anniversary of the death of Louis the XVI. one of the best kings France ever saw, and who they murdered on the 21st of January 1793. It will not be amiss to shew to posterity the manly behaviour of that unfortunate king. The following account, which is from the first authority, may be relied on.

On Sunday, the 20th of January, about four o'clock in the after-

noon, the king, after having heard his sentence of death, obtained permission to see his wife, his sister, and his children, who were absolutely ignorant of the fate which awaited him. The moment he entered the chamber where they were, these unfortunate princesses believed, from the serenity of his countenance, that he had been acquitted by his ferocious judges, and they gave loose to the most lively transports

transports of joy and tenderness. But the king soon undeceived them informing them to the contrary, and that it was a last and a long farewell that he came to take. No pen could describe the agonizing despair of this unfortunate family on hearing this unexpected, this dreadful information. The queen threw herself violently forward against the bars of their prison, uttering the most piercing cries, invoking the pity of humane and feeling hearts. Madame Elizabeth, the king's sister, and his daughter Madame Royal, held the knees of the king embraced. During this heart-rending scene, the Dauphin found means to escape, and was not recognized till he had got into the middle of the court-yard, near the gate which led to the street. Stopped by the guards, he wept, he sighed, he entreated them to let him pass. "But where are you going to?" said one of the monsters who guarded the gate, struck by his beauty and his tears. "I will go," said he, "and supplicate the people not to let papa die. For God's sake! don't hinder me to speak to them!" And with his feeble arms he endeavoured to overcome the insurmountable obstacles which opposed him.

The king passed two hours shut up with his family. It was the first time, during his confinement, that he saw them alone, and without witnesses. The moment that he was obliged to force himself from

them was piercing in the extreme, notwithstanding the hope he had of seeing them again the morning after, and which was the morning of his execution. The queen, wild and frantic, held the knees of the king so strongly clasped in her arms by the convulsions she had, that two men were obliged to employ all their force to drag her from the king. Madame Elizabeth, and the dauphin, were stretched out on the floor at the feet of the king, delivering themselves up to the most frightful ravings; the princess royal had fainted, and lay without knowledge, on a wretched bed. Such was the situation of this unfortunate family when the king was obliged to retire.

He entered into his apartment without uttering a word, his head leaning on his hands. On his entrance he threw himself on his knees, and passed almost the whole evening in prayers. About midnight he lay down and slept some hours, and the morning when his valet-de-chambre entered to him, his face bathed in tears; the king took him by the hand, and said to him, "You are wrong, Clergy, to affect yourself so much, the people, who still love me, ought, on the contrary, to rejoice to see that the end of my misfortunes is at hand." He then prayed to God, and at eight o'clock, they came to inform him that every thing was ready.—He descended the stairs with a firm step, crossed the court yard, and

cast his eyes several times towards the tower where the queen and his family were shut up.

He made a movement as if to fortify his heart, and mounted in the mayor's coach, with his Confessor, and two officers of the national guard, who had private orders to kill him, if there was the least movement made in his favour. The road from the temple, where he was confined, to the place of execution, which is above two miles, was lined on each side by the national guards without interruption, of four deep, and which amounted to upwards of two hundred thousand men. The melancholy procession from the temple, to the place of Louis XVth, lasted two hours. The king, during this time, recited in a book, the prayers of the dying, and spoke several times to his confessor, arrived at the place of execution, where the scaffold was erected on the side of the place where stood the statue of his grandfather,

As his prayers were not finished, he finished them in a tranquil manner, descended from the coach with a calm and unruffled air; took off his coat himself, and remained in a white waistcoat; he untied his neckcloth, opened his shirt in a manner that his neck and shoulders were uncovered, and falling on his knees, he received the last benediction of his confessor; that finished, he got up, and mounted alone on the scaffold. It was in this terrible

moment, that his confessor, struck with his courage and his virtues, threw himself on his knees, his arms and eyes lifted towards heaven, crying out, with a strong and firm voice, "Son of St. Louis, you mount to Heaven." When the king was mounted on the scaffold, he said, that he wished to speak to the people. The three monsters that were to execute him (for the usual executioners had refused their functions), these savages informed him, that before he could speak, they must tie his hands and cut his hair. "Tye my hands," said the king, in a kind of passion, then recollecting himself all on a sudden, "do what you will, it is the last sacrifice." When his hands were tyed and his hair cut, he said, "at least, I hope I shall be able to speak at present." And turning himself on a sudden to the left of the fatal block, he ordered, in a firm voice, and a signal to the drums to keep silence.

A remainder of respect caused to be executed immediately these last orders, and the king profiting of this moment of calm, "I die" said he, "entirely innocent of all the pretended crimes that are imputed to me. I pardon all those who have been the cause of my misfortunes. I wish even that my blood may be useful to the good of France, and you, unfortunate people." Santerre, then, who commanded the troops, made a signal to the drums to drown his voice, and called out to the

the king, that he had not brought him to that place to speak, but to die. The three ruffians who were appointed to execute him, then dragged him to the fatal machine, and in an instant his head was separated from his body. One of the three executioners took the head and shewed it to the ferocious rabble, who made the air resound with cries of "Long live the nation; long live the republic."

The body of this unfortunate monarch was buried in the churchyard of St. Magdelaine, between the Swiss, killed on the 10th of August, and the people who were crushed to death at the fireworks on his marriage in 1770. They threw in quick-lime, the sooner to consume the body.

The convention had ordered, by a decree, that no citizen, except those under arms, should appear either in the streets, or even in the windows, during the time of the procession and execution. The place of execution was filled with people with pikes, and the most infamous dregs of the people.

Occular witnesses have constantly assured, that the Duke of Orleans,

and his son, the Duke de Chartres, assisted at the execution. This fact is certain, that this infamous behaviour added nothing to the horror that they inspired. During the translation of the king from the temple to the place of execution, the procession was followed by two men armed, who entered into all the coffee-houses and public places, where many reputable people were bathed in tears, and asked, with great cries, if there were still any faithful subjects left who would die for their king. The terror of the public mind was then so great, that no one joined them. The two arrived alone at the place of execution, where they concealed themselves in the croud. It is now certain, that many timid people, but well intentioned towards the king, had formed an association of eighteen hundred persons, who were to have cried out GRACE, before the execution. Of these eighteen hundred cowards one only dared to do his duty, and was immediately tore to pieces by the mob. Happy man, who died for his king, and has no more to weep at the shame of his country.

ANECDOTES.

AFTER the execution, Clery, valet-de-chambre of the king, appeared before the common council, and asked to make a declaration of three objects, which had been confided to him that morning, by the

late king, in presence of many commissaries, who attested the circumstances. Which objects were, a gold ring, in the inside of which were engraved these letters: M. A. A. A. 19 April, 1770, &c. which
ring

ring he was charged to give to his wife, in saying that he parted with it with the utmost grief. Besides a seal in silver, and opening in three parts; upon one of which was engraved the arms of France, on the other L. L. and on the third, a head of a child, with a helmet; which seal he was charged to give to his son. The other, a small paper, on which was written, in the

hand-writing of the king: *Hair of my wife, of my sister, and of my children.* And containing in effect four small packets of hair, which he charged Clery to deliver to his wife, and tell her, that he asked her pardon in not having desired her to come down this morning, willing to avoid her the grief of so cruel a separation.

HEROISM OF MADAME ELIZABETH,

SISTER TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

THE seizure of Madame Elizabeth, sister to the unfortunate Louis XVI. took place on the 8th of May 1794. When she was dragged before the revolutionary tribunal, this amiable princess was interrogated as to her *name* and *quality*. And humanity will shudder, and posterity scarce believe, that on her saying, in answer to the latter question, she was aunt to the king, the tribunal immediately condemned her to death, "As being guilty of a conspiracy against the republic." By the above answer, the noble Elizabeth proved herself worthy of her august relations. Firmness, so unshaken by suffering, is highly venerable. And it is worthy of remark, that the question, as to her quality, afforded her an opportunity to assert the right of an orphan heir to the crown of France.

She, however, fell a victim to this sanguinary system of republicanism on the 10th, two days after her seizure. She was followed to the scaffold by twenty-five others, but not suffered to fall by the fatal machine, till it had severed the heads of all her fellow-sufferers. Having ascended the scaffold, she cast her eyes towards Heaven, and, prostrate on her knees, solicited that fortitude which her horrid situation seemed to demand; and, having continued some time in prayer, she at length advanced, with a kind of heroism inspired by religion, and perfect resignation to the decrees of Providence. Thus died the virtuous, the religious Elizabeth Phillipina Maria, of France, after having lived thirty years and seven days.

SHORT

A SHORT SKETCH OF BARRERE.

BARRERE, the cotemporary of Robespierre, before the revolution, in order to give himself the air of a gentleman, had purchased a very small manor, which cost him 4000 livres, about 1651. which lengthened his name three syllables, and made him M. Barrere de Vieufac. He was the first president of the Feuillans.

Always swimming with the stream, he left the Feuillans when their power began to decline, and attached himself to the Jacobins.—Over both these societies he had obtained an influence, which had hitherto prevented him from being seen in his proper colours.—He had been the friend of the Brissotines ;

and as soon as they had lost their influence, became their most bitter enemy. From the mire of this party, he raised himself to the top of this mountain ; till he, in his turn, was overturned. And though transported, by a decree of the convention, found means to elude the sentence being put in execution ; and is now a vagabond concealed in France. Ought, therefore, such men to be trusted, whose conduct and opinions have been so versatile and inconsistent. He, like his cotemporary, Robespierre, was a very sink of sin ; a landscape of iniquity, and the very offal of the human race.

(To be continued).

CURIOUS DENUNCIATION OF ST. JUST.

IT is curious to observe the enthusiastic harangues of those monsters of the human race, who were the leaders in the convention ; accusing each other of being enemies to the republic, when, in fact, all their principal aim was murder, rapine, and robbery, to enrich themselves.—They accused each other, with an inward jealousy, that one was aiming at more power and riches than the other.—The report of St. Just, who himself was denounced, and fell as a conspirator, is a strong proof.—He says, (in part of that report, which was

against the new conspirators, as he very properly termed them ; and of which party he himself was found out to be one). If there is a reputation more tarnished than the rest, it is that of La Croix ; on whom the public opinion has already pronounced. He has, at all times, been suspected, and regarded as a man of *immoral* character. The defender of Miranda, and friend of Dumourier. He has an hundred times inveighed against the Jacobins, and has as often testified his hatred against them.—The corruption of public morals was one of the

the aims of La Croix; who, in concert with Danton, proposed the banishment of Capet.

Such, Danton, were your friends. Your robust make seemed to disguise the feebleness of your counsels. You began like the thunder; but you never made a vigorous proposition against the Federalists. You seemed energetic; but your energy was false: You caused a ferment in Paris, and you excited an insurrection. Like Sextus Quintus, you pretended simplicity; but flashes of light soon dazzled the political tortoise, and made you appear a very camelion, giving a diversity of colours to your crimes.

Hebert delighted in repeating, that the revolution, like Saturn, would devour his children.—Danton and La Croix talked in vain of Clemency—Perish clemency. Let us be inflexible. It is indulgence that is ferocious, when it protects such scoundrels as these. Let us, like Prometheus, steal from Heaven the fire which shall destroy conspirators, and give life to the republic.

Such was the language of one of the principal leaders; who him-

self, afterwards entered the church of the Augustines, during divine service, and, after seeing the images of our Saviour and the Apostles burnt, and the plate of the church taken away, mounted the pulpit, and made a long discourse on liberty and equality.

Before St. Just had pronounced his famous report, there had been upward of five hundred thousand traitors, as they were called, butchered at Paris, and the different provinces. After such dreadful massacres, it might be supposed the convention would have none but friends left alive. It was, however, a well known fact, that the then present leaders, of which St. Just was one, were more terrible than those destroyed, and that in proportion as they were looked at they were found more frightful and alarming; and notwithstanding the convention were fortunate in their discovery of conspiracies, yet they little reflected, that the slaughter of every fresh set of conspirators left behind, a numerous host of partisans and relations to wreak their vengeance.

VANITY AND IMPIETY OF THE FRENCH.

THE vanity and impiety of the French were never better explained, than in the two following instances. When Danton was before the revolutionary tribunal, and on being questioned as to his name, and place of residence; replied, "My residence will soon be

a nonentity, and my name will live for ever in the pantheon of history."

When Camille Desmoulins was questioned to his age, by the revolutionary tribunal." "I am just," says he, "as old as the Sans-culotte Jesus, thirty-three years."

A SINGULAR

A SINGULAR CAUSE WHY PEOPLE WERE PUNISHED.

THE 26th of April 1794, was a great day for the bloody vengeance of the guillotine in Paris.— And notwithstanding the majority of those that fell were of the undistinguished class, still the singular causes which led some of them to punishment, are deserving of notice. Bertault, a midwife, was guillotined for having hawked about, among her acquaintance, a letter, which ascribed to Robespierre a plan for the establishment of Louis the XVII. on the throne. Bonin, a printer, for having, in public, employed the expression, “ Robespierre, the sovereign.”— Schesfeyer, a shoemaker, for having posted up bills, tending to provoke the massacre of several deputies.— Pomeray, a hair-dresser, for having exclaimed in prison, Vive le Roi! And Noel, a tinman, for having treated ludicrously, the ceremony observed at Meaux, when the acceptance of the republican constitution was declared there. The rest, to a prodigious number, were guillotined on the general charges of conspiracy and counter-revolution.

N. B. As we are in possession of the most authentic documents relative to the unfortunate Queen, and also the trial which has been considerably mutilated in this country. We shall not hesitate in giving it, as it was taken down at the time ; and which we have been favoured with by a French nobleman, who caused it to be taken in short hand, by a person whom he employed for that purpose. And we expect very soon an original letter, wrote by the queen, the day before she was executed, to the Dauphin and Princess Royal ; which letter was delivered to Robespierre instead of the children ; and which was afterwards found amongst Robespierre’s papers when he was arrested.

THE INDICTMENT AGAINST THE QUEEN OF FRANCE.

THE indictment was drawn up by the public Accuser of the revolutionary tribunal, ANTOINE QUINTI FOUQUIER. After stating as a necessary preface, that the power delegated to the revolutionary tribunal, by a decree on the 10th March 1793, which authorizes the tribunal to take up, and try all persons, to whom the commission

mission of crimes is imputed. The public accuser, in obedience to the decree of the 3d of October, declaring, that the queen should be immediately tried by the revolutionary tribunal: states, that he was furnished with the necessary documents and proofs on the 11th and 12th instant. From these he collected the matter contained in the indictment.

It began in the following manner:

In the name of the republic of France,
MARIA ANTOINETE, *widow*
of Louis Capet, late king of the
French, is accused.

1. Of having occasioned by her unbounded extravagance, an immense deficit in the finances: Of having produced those delapidations by the assistance of that execrable exiled robber, *Calonne*.
2. Of having sent several millions of livers to the emperor, for the abominable purpose of enabling him to wage war with greater facility against France.
3. Of having done this contrary to her duty as queen of France; and with an intention to subvert the peace and prosperity of the nation.
4. Of having invariably laboured to produce a counter-revolution.
5. Of having constantly maintained a correspondence with the enemies of France, since the period of the revolution in 1789.
6. Of having used the money to defray the expences of the civil list, to pay persons employed by her in carrying on this correspondence.
7. Of having first attempted to effect this purpose by corrupting the soldiers, and by assembling the king's body guards, and the regiment of Flanders, at a repast given on the 1st of October 1789.
8. Of having taken advantage of the inebriety in which the troops were involved, to make them express sentiments subversive of the revolution, and declaratory of an attachment to the ancient despotism of France.
9. Of having distributed white cockades among the women, who were charged to use their influence with the soldiers to induce them to accept them.
10. Of having produced, by these means, the most marked insults to the national cockade, which was trampled under foot.
11. Of having on the 4th of October, express much approbation at these proceedings.
12. Of having conspired against the liberty of the French people.
13. Of having attempted to produce a famine in 1789.
14. Of having concerted measures, with La Fayette and Bouillé, to procure the massacre of the patriots in the Camp de Mars.
15. Of having ordered the Swiss guards, to fire upon the people on the 10th of August, by which hundreds of patriots were killed.
16. Final-

16. Finally, to complete the ample catalogue of the heavy crimes imputed to her ; she is charged with the horrible crime of incest with her own son*.

The public Accuser having given notice to the judges of the revolutionary tribunal, that the indictment was ready.

Information was sent to the queen, at the Conciergerie, to prepare for her trial on the succeeding morning, who received the intelligence with fortitude ; and requested leave to confer with the

* He was at that time, when the monster accused her of so abominable a crime, only eight years of age. But as the queen had been imprisoned near a twelve month, he could not be more than seven when they made the accusation.

two citizens, Fronson de Coadry and Chaveau de la Garde, who had been selected to defend her. Her request was granted.

On Tuesday morning, the 9th of October 1793, she was conducted in a private coach by Henriot, commandant of the national force of Paris, to the revolutionary tribunal. Immense multitudes of people lined the streets through which she was to pass ; and the reputable part of the citizens, manifested the most poignant grief.

As soon as she arrived before the revolutionary tribunal, the indictment was read to her. She heard it with great firmness and tranquillity.

(To be continued.)

MONSIEUR MAILLARD,

PRESIDENT OF THE BLOODY TRIBUNAL.

This is the same Vagabond who preceded the Mob that went to Versailles on the 5th of October 1789.

BEFORE their judgment, the unfortunate prisoners were obliged to give to this president of the tribunal of blood, their watches, money, and pocket-books, or any thing else of value they had about them. Whether they were massacred, or not, nothing was lost : Every thing went to the president ; who afterwards, the same day, shared what he thought proper amongst his murdering companions.—It is a

well-known fact, that Lieutenant General Wittgenstein, in going to be massacred, gave to Maillard a very valuable watch, enriched with diamonds, under the promise, to give it to a near, but poor relation of the General's ; but who never heard about it.—This monster, above-mentioned, presided at the Abbey prison, and condemned 180 persons to be massacred.

FIDELITY OF MADAME THE PRINCESS OF TARENTE.

MADAME, the Princess of Tarente, now the Duchess of Trémouille, suffered, for forty hours, all the horrors of the most agonizing torments, in the Abbey prison. Dragged, at last, before that expeditious and bloody tribunal, which was to give life, or immediate death; she recovered her strength, and her courage, when she heard them renew the same interrogatories, that she had all ready undergone before the commons.—They wished her to accuse the queen; and that she would declare her guilty of some conspiracies.—They menaced her with death. She heard the preparations, if she persisted to defend her friend, the queen, against the atrocious calumnies which were vomited forth against her.—They promised her her life, if she would only say one word against her. Her duty, the truth, and her fidelity, triumphed over the weakness of her sex, and

the horror of her situation. She never ceased to refute the accusations against her majesty, at the hazard of her life. Providence recompensed her fidelity and her virtues: She was saved by her courage, inspired by a supernatural cause.—It will suffice to say, that being acquitted, and conducted to the gate of the Abbey prison, walking in streams of human blood, they came to fetch her back, to recommit her prisoner, till they had received some more information concerning her. She refused to enter. She demanded death, or immediate liberty.

The assassins, struck with such magnanimity and courage, carried her in triumph to her house. Thus did the name of Trémouille acquire in her a new lustre. And the blood of the ancient house of Chatillon did not flow under the robes of assassins.

ANECDOTE OF MONSIEUR CONDORCET.

MADAME, the Duchess d'Aanville, made a gift of one hundred thousand livres to M. Condorcet, at the period of her marriage. He desired to touch only forty thousand livres in money, and to receive the interest of the remaining sixty thousand.—Condorcet, every

day after that, manifested principles more and more opposite to those of the Duke de Rochefoucauld, till he was obliged to withdraw himself from the society of Madame d'Aanville; and, at last, forbid him her house, after having resisted, for a long time, the solicitations

tions of her relations and friends, who had advised her to it for a considerable length of time.—Condorcet, who found it very embarrassing to go every six months to receive his interest of the three thousand livres; and to be obliged to reflect twice a year on the bounteous gift he had received, and his own ingratitude; or, perhaps, willing to re-unite all his money for to prepare himself for flight, if the party who wished to have the king dethroned did not succeed. Condorcet made known to Madame d'Anville, by a third person, that he should be very glad to touch his capital. The morning after, the Duke de Rochefou-

cauld, very well satisfied for this opportunity to break off all connection with a man who had forced him to despise him, went to Condorcet's. He carried him the sixty thousand livres. Through an excess of delicacy, he was willing to give them to himself: first, not to publish the gift to the world; and, secondly, not to put any of his people in confidence of the ingratitude of the philosopher. Condorcet counted and received the sixty thousand livres without uttering a word; gave a receipt to the duke, and took leave of his benefactor; addressing him in these three words—"Sir, 'tis right."

REFLECTIONS ON THE TRIAL OF
MR. STONE,
FOR HIGH TREASON.

The circumstances of this trial are such as are well worthy remark, and though we say it with great deference, yet we cannot help giving it as our opinion, that if the trial had been differently conducted on the side of the prosecution, the issue would have been different from what it was.

The law against sending information to the enemies of this country, respecting its state when at war, is a very distinct one, and is the *only* crime to be attributed to Mr. Stone.

This, however, was by no means what it would appear, was plainly and simply understood to be the crime of which he was attempted to be convicted. The matter was managed in such a manner, that an impression is left upon the public mind, that Mr. Stone was accused of being an accomplice of Mr. Jackson, the clergyman who was found guilty in Dublin for sending information to France, of the state of Ireland. It is very probable, that the Jury considered this as the thing intended to be brought

brought home to Mr. Stone; and which not being done, his acquittal very properly followed.

The information which Mr. Stone sent to his Brother at France was the only thing that could be brought home to him. But with respect to this information, it was argued, that it was done with the good intention of preventing an invasion of Eng'land.

We do not wish to throw obliquy on a man when acquitted by a jury of his countrymen; but we cannot let a matter of so much importance pass without stating matters as they are.

It is possible that Mr. Stone might have no bad intention; but it is evident he did a very bad thing; for he collected the best information he could get, and sent it over to his brother, in order that it might be might be communicated to the ruling powers in France. What was the tendency of this? To prevent the French from invading England. An invasion which would have ended in defeat, *as he informed them*, and which would have united us all in one way of thinking in England. It might, indeed, be Mr. Stone's opinion, that this would have been an advantage; but that, we must allow, was a singular sort of an opinion. Let it even be granted, that an invasion would have been a bad thing. Is each individual in the kingdom, according to his own opinion, to inform and advise our enemies in

contradiction to a standing law, and in direct contradiction to the first basis of the compact which connects men in society, by which each individual is bound to abstain from doing any thing contrary to the interests of the whole.

There is no error into which a Judge can go that is more ruinous than that of rendering the case to be judged complicated, so that some parts may be proved, and others set aside; by which the minds of the jury are thrown into an undetermined state; in which case, honest men always finish with acquitting the accused.

We must indulge ourselves in an observation on the present case, that appears to us to be very useful, and even necessary at the present moment.

It will always have a bad tendency, when men, who are guilty of one act in a decided manner, are accused as being guilty of several other acts which are not so certain. The accusation brought against Mr. Stone, with regard to his connexion with Mr. Jackson, and which could not be proved, shewed first of all, that his accusers went to work on slight grounds. It obliged them to call as an evidence, Cockayne, the attorney, *whose infamy is such, that to be confronted with him, is itself a victory.* And least all the impression left on the minds of the jury, on finding, that this was not established, gave naturally a sort of prejudice in fa-

vour

vour of Mr. Stone. Had the act of accusation merely related to sending information to France; and had the jury been obliged to decide upon that simple single fact, there is not a doubt but that Mr. Stone must have been found guilty. But as it was, the guilt seemed to consist in being privy to, and conspiring with other persons in favour of the French; which not being by any means proved, the jury are deserving of praise for the verdict of NOT GUILTY.

We cannot quit this subject without making a remark on the conduct of the spectators, and wondering at their want of discrimination, in seeming to consider the cause of Mr. Stone as similar to that of Messrs. Hardy, Thelwall, &c. when in fact, it was, with respect to law, totally different.—And if there were actually any similarity or connection, that connection would, in fact, prove Mr. Stone to be guilty.

In the case of Hardy and others, the predilection in favour of French principles would not be denied; but no *overt act* of treason could be brought home to the prisoners. In this latter case of Stone, the *overt act* was proved, but no predilection in favour of French principles. It would therefore appear, that could a connection fairly be proved between the different parties, conviction ought to have followed to all of them. We cannot account from the same spirit of party which applauded on both

occasions, by any other means than by supposing, that those who applauded, felt a conviction in their own minds, that the cause of the different prisoners was *essentially the same*.

It would appear, that, upon one hand, there are persons in this country who, insensible of the advantages of that freedom which they enjoy, even at the moment they see how valuable the life of a citizen is in the eye of the law, are delighted to find, that men may go very great lengths to ruin the country without punishment. One might attribute all this to the humanity of Englishmen; and that would be to us very agreeable.—But we know, that there is not a country on the face of the earth where the criminal law is more severe; where the stealing of a sheep, or a loaf of bread, is more severely punished. It would, therefore appear, that humanity is not at the bottom of all this; there must be something else. Thelwall, Took, &c. may be reckoned patriots; that is possible, because they aimed at another order of things, which in their opinion was better; and therefore, every man who thought so, must naturally applaud at their acquittal. But Stone could not be mistaken for a patriot. He was not a broacher of new opinions; he was not a victim of reform; he was merely in prison for an act contrary to law, the same as any individual criminal.

What

What then was the reason for the party taking the side of Stone, as they did of Hardy and Took? it was, and could be nothing else, but either, that they, under the rose, considered him as an agent in the same cause; or that they uniformly with all prosecution for high treason to fall to the ground, whoever the person may be, or whatever the case.

The reader will naturally, when he contemplates this, reflect with pleasure on the value set upon the life of an individual in this country, when compared with the rash and bloody manner with which men have been sacrificed in France. Joy will naturally fill him on this reflection; so honourable, and so fortunate for Englishmen. But it will be difficult to conceive how it happens, that there is any portion of the inhabitants of this

country, who are so far blinded by party prejudice, as to feel joy at the successes of France, and mortification at those of England.

Mr. Dyde, a haberdasher in Pall Mall; Mr. Gillet, an Irish merchant, established in Bourdeaux, have both been arrested in a manner, and for practices something similar to those of Mr. Stone. And, provided their trials are managed in the same manner, we have no doubt but that they will be acquitted. For, according to that mode, there is a precedent fairly established; that if good intention can be assigned, the manœuvres they have practised will not be punishable. Such is the conclusion to be drawn. And all this must, if it goes on, finish, that some man, by his good intentions, will ruin his country.

HIGH TREASON.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

MR. STONE'S TRIAL.

January 28, 1796, the court assembled at nine o'clock, to proceed upon the trial of William Stone, so long expected by the public. A considerable portion of time was expended in composing a jury; as several of the gentlemen summoned were disqualified, by not being freeholders, and upwards of twenty peremptorily challenged on the part of the prisoner. Many others ex-

cused themselves on pleas of old age, deafness, and of other infirmities. But the most singular apology was that of a Mr. Smith; who very earnestly, and successfully, intreated that he may be exempted from sitting on the trial of a gentleman, with whom he had been intimately acquainted for five and twenty years.

(To be continued.)

After



THE REVOLUTIONARY MAGAZINE.

HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

(Continued from Page 104.)

THERE is an absurdity so conspicuously great in consecrating, as a general principle, that which *may* endure too long, that it is astonishing there yet exist men who have any other sentiments than those either of horror or of pity, for those persons who could lead a nation into such a labyrinth of error.

When the people of Paris had got the better of their fears, then the sixty sections, which were so useful in the moment of danger, became the seats of every sort of abuse that men could practice, under the appearance of justice and the public good.

Each section became a tumultuous assembly, and had its orators, its president, and secretaries, exactly after the manner of the national assembly. Decrees were made in the same style and spirit, and there was very little difference, except in the extent of dominion, between the Sectional Assembly and the National Assembly.

Although in any one section, there could not be any thing very important to do, yet the assemblies were almost perpetual. Under cover of giving advice, or opinion, or of consulting with each other, they examined every question; and, whenever it suited their purpose, those opinions were printed, and placarded. So that with sixty public assemblies debating, writing, publishing, and putting in force the new ideas of legislation, the minds of the people were heated to a degree, almost past bearing. The consequence was, that plots of every kind were imagined, and oppression of every kind was put in practice. There was no rest by night, nor by day. And the most cruel tyranny that is exercised in any civilised nation would be a state of happiness, in comparison to what the Parisians began already to feel.

Novelty, which has great influence in Paris, and hope, which

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luckily

luckily comes to alleviate the pains of men on most occasions, rendered the citizen content; but, above all, the *amour propre*, was gratified by thinking himself free, and wearing an uniform. Thus it is, that what is difficult and dangerous, becomes often more sufferable than it would otherwise be. And at last necessity of continuing, added to the habit of bearing, supports us for a long series of years under circumstances which would, without these alleviations, have become intolerable.

C H A P. IV.

The national assembly leads the people astray—Berthier and Foulon massacred inhumanly by the mob—the cool ferocity of the assembly, of La Fayette, and of Bailly the mayor of Paris—Women are pushed foremost in all cases of insurrection—Castle of the nobles burned, and the country people stirred up—Many newspapers established to preach rebellion—M. Necker's return; he loses some of his popularity—Question of two chambers debated—The 4th of August, and feudal system pulled down—Immediate evil consequences—General anarchy, discontent, and misery—The assembly contradicts M. Necker—A loan made—Mirabeau declaims against paper money—Necessity of a change both for the court and the assembly—A revolt and massacre in the 4th and 5th October—The king brought prisoner to Paris—The assembly follows.

WHILE the members of the na-

tional assembly were neglecting to consult the insurrections given by their constituents, they were every day employed in making harangues, which, by conveying an unlimited principle of liberty to the people, was, in fact, stirring up nothing but anarchy and licentiousness.

The end of the present century, so much boasted of for its superior knowledge, has not, however, the merit of discovery, that it is only the vice of mankind that renders laws necessary, or that renders a compact between men necessary. If all were perfectly virtuous, it would follow, that all would be perfectly just and happy, and that the system of liberty and equality, as the French call it, might be put in practice. When we have quarries of diamonds, we may build oriental palaces, but while we have but brick and mortar, we must content ourselves with European architecture.

National vengeance, and national justice, were words that the people used upon all occasions, with just the same attention to their application as the parrot from his cage. The mob had scarcely got time to rest from the exertion of walking into the Bastille, when the door was opened, and massacring a few old men, before a new occasion offered itself for exerting a patriotic vengeance.

Amongst those persons who had accepted of a place in the new ministerial arrangements, when M.

Necker

Necker was dismissed, was M. Foulon, a man very rich, but by no means popular, and who, besides, was father-in-law to the intendant of Paris, M. Berthier. This M. Foulon, instead of quitting France, retired only to a little distance from Paris, and concealed himself on his own estate, where he was discovered, and brought from thence to Paris. The good people had heard say, that this man had expressed a wish to make them eat grass. It was considered as a piece of pleantry and cruelty, that united to satisfy the justice of the people, to fill his mouth with grass; and, putting a bundle of hay on his back, to make him walk about twenty miles in the heat of the day, in the month of July. No particular crime was laid to his charge, though he was not by any means a man without fault. On the contrary, rich, vain, and selfish, he could have few friends. But he had never said what was imputed to him, nor was he accused of any act of oppression. He was first carried into the Hotel de Ville, and from thence sent by M. de la Fayette, who commanded the national troops, under a feeble escort to prison. But there were men amongst the crowd, whose purpose was to prevent his arriving there. Foulon was taken by force from the soldier citizens, hanged, and his head cut off. This was all but the affair of a few minutes, his head (the mouth stuffed with hay) was

carried in triumph on a pike, and the naked body drawn in a mutilated state, with all the indecency that it was possible, through the streets. A number of furies, in the form of women, dancing round as it went along, and with words and gestures, which do not admit of a repetition, endeavouring to degrade a lifeless corpse.

Berthier, the intendant of Paris, was coming to town prisoner the same day, under an escort of an immense number of troops; and it was considered by the mob as a pleasant piece of sport, to carry the head of the father-in-law, and throw it at the son.

Berthier arrived about ten in the evening, the same mob still attending to put him to death. It had even been advised by numbers amongst them, to put him to death before he should enter the town-house. This, however, was difficult to do. For there were more than twenty thousand of the national guards there, and in the adjoining avenues. So that the mob had, in fact, been obliged to give up part of the ground to the guards. The General la Fayette, with all the cool deliberation of a philosophical and republican hero, settled these difficulties. About five hours before, he had seen the miserable end of Foulon, whom he had sent to prison in broad day; yet he sent Berthier in the night to prison, with a small guard only, and with orders to that guard *to do*

no violence to the people! The consequence was, that the miserable victim had scarcely descended the stairs, when he was seized, and hung up at the same lamp-iron; but the rope breaking, it was thought the quickest method to cut open his body with a sabre; and in less than eight minutes from his leaving the council-chamber, one of the mob appeared before Bailly and la Fayette, and all the deputies of the sections, with the victim's heart reeking in his hand.

Such was the commencement of the reign of liberty and justice; such was the beginning of the administration of M. Bailly, as mayor; and M. de la Fayette, as commander. With such a people, such a mayor, and such a commander, it was not to be wondered if the human character grew worse, and if peaceable men began to wish to be out of the kingdom.

An assembly that had seen such transactions, ought to have been quick to punish, and searched out with severity, the authors and perpetrators of those horrid and disgraceful actions. But what did they do? They permitted Barnave to preserve his place and consideration amongst them; though he answered to a member, who lamented such atrocities, "What, then, and was the blood that was spilt so pure!" This Barnave should have been chased as a monster, from an assembly that pretended to be the fathers of the people. On the con-

trary, his reputation and importance in the assembly increased; and the people finding advocates amongst the rulers, and no where any to punish, was prepared, whenever there was occasion, to repeat the same. There was no excuse in this affair; as on the first day of the revolution, when they thought they had run great risks, when they were heated with exertion, and not quite relieved from fear. It was a cool, deliberate act, and most assuredly a very barbarous one.

It was upon this occasion the mob discovered, that as the national guards were, in case of insurrection, to be their antagonists, the best way would be to make the women go foremost. This they long practised, and generally with perfect success. For, besides that, the market and fish women of Paris are generally full as stout as the men, they were bolder, more daring, and more cruel. To this they added the advantage of the guards not caring to use violence with them. So that if M. de la Fayette sanctified insurrection, the people did it every justice in the execution.

To prevent the nobles from exerting their interest in the countries which were not accessible to affiliate clubs and writings, in the same manner as towns, it was rumoured that the nobility were plotting a *contre revolution*. This word was invented for the purpose, and the people was invited to burn their
castles,

castles, and maltreat their persons, by letters sent to different quarters of the kingdom, signifying that the castles were the repairs and strong-holds of aristocrats, from which they would some day or other issue out and massacre the defenceless inhabitants of all the villages *.

* Amongst many tragical scenes which the burning of castles occasioned, one pleasant enough occurred in the province of Dauphiny.—The master of a castle being informed that the inhabitants of a neighbouring village were coming to burn his house, assembled all his friends and dependents as quickly as possible, and informed them of the business. But, says he, defence will be useless; for other villages will join themselves to that, and they will finish with murdering us all. Let us set off to burn their village. Off they set; and the two parties met on the road, when the following conversation took place.

People of the village. Well, Sir, you're setting off, we see. Do you know, that we are going to burn your castle?

Master of the castle. So, so; that's very well; for we are just on the road to burn your village. But whose orders have you to burn my castle? Are you properly authorized?

Village. We act by the orders of the king and the national assembly, for the public good.

Castle. That's perfectly right; nothing is more just: I do the same; don't let us lose time, let each obey.

The chief of the village (after a little pause, in a low voice). But what do you think of this affair. Would it not be better for us both not to obey? We shall not burn your castle, and you will not burn our village.

The people never could be led to these excesses, but by inspiring into them fear, which has been the principal agent of the Jacobins. They knew well, that under the influence of fear, men act more than they reflect or calculate; and that fear, with few exceptions, operates on all: whereas hope reflects and calculates, and does not operate so universally. Besides this, fear is the passion which inspires cruelty more than any other; the Jacobins, therefore, invoked fear, and employed it from the beginning till the present day. It has continually augmented till the reign of Robespierre, when it arrived at its greatest possible pitch. It was then called the system of terror. The revolution, however, has only varied in the quantities it employed of the same thing; for it has been from the beginning spurred on by fear, conducted by fear, and continued by fear.

The old government was no sooner deprived of all power, than a number of small daily newspapers appeared: some few of them only giving the debates of the assembly, and a little news; others giving news, reasonings of their own, and embracing whatever a newspaper may be supposed to contain. Three of those papers only deserve at present to be mentioned: that of the famous Brissot, called the French

Castle. Well, if you think so, I agree: let us each return home. Thus ended the expedition.

Patriot;

Patriot; another by Camille de Moulins, every week, entitled the *Revolutions of France and Brabant*; and the last, the journal of Marat, called the *Friend of the People*. Of these, the journal of Brissot was the most moderate. It contained sometimes good remark; and though it laid down, in their fullest latitude, the principles of insurrection, of equality, and the fashionable phrases of the people's good, and the people's will, he never directly advised murder, nor robbery. Camille de Moulins, on the contrary, began by pointing out its victims to the people; and obtained from Mirabeau, who did not blush to treat him as his friend, the title of *Purveyor-general for the lantern*. Marat, superlative in wickedness at the beginning, as he was at the end, preached nothing but massacre and destruction. Those three publications, at a cheap price, were circulated through the kingdom; and having different degrees of atrocity, suited different characters. The fate of their authors is a true picture of the progress and manner in which their principles gained ground. Brissot's principles, at the end of two years, were in the mode, and continued so for a long time. At last he fell; and then Marat and Camille de Moulins got more into vogue than ever Brissot had been; though at first they were objects of hatred and of horror.

The return of M. Necker on

the 29th of July, was a signal for general rejoicing; and Necker, who went to the town-house in triumph, thought to have completed his glory by proposing a general amnesty for all that was past. He harangued the common council, and brought them to consent to his proposition; but he was scarcely departed, when the sixty governments of Paris assembled, declared the common council had exceeded its powers, and revoked all. Thus was the last day of M. Necker's glory come. He was the first who felt the effects of the insurrection upon himself, of all those who had worked it up.

The same man to whose will the nation had hitherto given a blind obedience, was now contradicted in the most open and least ceremonious manner; and his fortune, like that of the great Pompey, took a decided turn. Till that day, every thing had prospered with him; and from that moment he never had any thing but disappointment and defeat in all his projects.

The national assembly was employing itself in debates concerning the new constitution that was to be made. It took an odd enough turn; and we must naturally suppose, with an intention to spread general principles, by treating general questions; and to complete the triumph of the people, by opposing their will and interest to that of the king and the nobles. The question

question of whether the assembly should, as in England, be composed of two chambers, or only of one, was debated, but probably never seriously, by the greater number of members who were decidedly in favour of one general assembly. The veto of the king, or his power of sanctioning, or refusing his sanction to any law, was also already mentioned; and all these discussions gave occasion to principles which led people to think that king, nobles, and commons, were absolutely opposite to each other in their interests; so that no method of rendering the two former obnoxious to the general bulk of the nation could be better calculated, or for spreading discontents and jealousies.

It was during these debates, that whatever was wrong or ridiculous in the ancient feudal system, was held up to the public in the most exaggerated language. Some privileges which inspire horror, but which were never used, and only existed in some particular places, †

† One of these was, that the Seigneur returning from hunting, had a right to kill one of his vassals, by cutting him open, that he might soak his feet in his bowels, to refresh himself. The relation is shocking, and the fact is true, but the general feudal system had no connection with it. Another was, that when a Seigneur found himself seriously offended by a vassal, he had a right to use the privilege of a husband with the vassal's wife, while the husband was shut into a strong wooden

were considered, or rather affected to be considered, as dangerous to liberty; and served, however, to turn the general tide still more strongly against the whole of the feudal system than it already was.

One of the evils of having but one chamber, is evidently the facility with which a decree may be passed before it has been maturely weighed. This evil is particularly great in France, amongst so impatient and lively a people, and where they are so susceptible of that enthusiasm which pervades men in popular assemblies upon the discussion of important subjects. The National Assembly was regulated by no ancient form, nor by any new law, respecting the manner of passing a decree; so that the feeling of the moment operated without restraint; and as their sittings were almost incessant, being held from nine or ten in the morning till three in the afternoon, and from about half-past four in the afternoon, till ten or eleven at night, the members got into a heated state both of mind and body, that was extremely unfriendly to calm deliberation.

chest, upon the top of which his wife suffered violence. Another was, the more generally known privilege of the Seigneur, called *le droit de Seigneur*, to consummate in person the marriage of his vassals. All of these are so repugnant to justice and common sense, that they could not occasion the least uneasiness to any person in the present enlightened times.

It

It was proposed to begin the work of forming a constitution; but M. de Noailles, a nobleman in the party of la Fayette, proposed beginning by sacrificing the feudal rights of the nobles to the general interests. This was proposed in one of the evening sittings, and is better example of the danger of one chamber without any counterpoise, than any thing that can possibly be said on the subject. The rights of hunting, fishing, of having deer parks, rabbit warrens, and pigeon-houses, were done away along with the other more unnatural, and more unjust of the feudal privileges. The nobles strove which should be foremost in abandoning their rights, and the enthusiasm became general. The parish priests, imitating their example, offered to throw up their perquisites; and those of the clergy who had a plurality of livings, offered in a voluntary manner to confine themselves to one only. Many particular privileges, which were enjoyed only in certain places and towns, and, in particular in what was called the Pays d'Etat, were given up by the representatives from those places. This enriched vastly the scene, and rendered it extremely interesting.

The mixture of good and evil in this night's labours was astonishingly great. No one who contemplates it with the feelings of a man, can refuse his approbation in a general view of the matter.

It was the result of feeling and of a sentiment of justice, which got the better of prejudice and personal interest, though, as to the manner in which it was done, prudence was left totally behind. Whenever the open and generous feelings obtain a victory over the calculating ones, it is a victory that exalts human nature, and sets criticism at a distance. And, certainly, though the consequences resulting from this night of the memorable fourth of August, have been terrible to the human race; though the manner in which these generous sacrifices operated upon those on whom the favours were conferred, is disgraceful to mankind, it is impossible entirely to withhold approbation and applause from such a contest of generosity and disinterestedness as that scene exhibited.

In one night the ancient and gothic fabric of feudal rights was destroyed throughout the largest kingdom in Europe; and that system of destruction and invasion of property was begun, which has which has known no other bounds but that which nature has assigned to the most terrible of its scourges. Pestilence itself ceases when there is nothing more to destroy, and the invasion of property only ceased in France, when there was no more property to invade.

The enthusiasm with which the feudal rights were destroyed on that memorable night, only served as a signal for destroying the small remains

remains of order and subordination which remained in the kingdom. The people had already begun in some parts to burn the castles of the Seigneurs; they now begun every where to destroy and rebel. If men through philanthropy have ever wished to annihilate the rights of hunting and fishing, this decree, and its immediate consequences, may, perhaps, change their opinion. The whole peasantry of France turned itself loose upon the birds and beasts—partridges and pheasants were for some time cheaper than fowls from the barn yard, and other game was in as great plenty as butcher's meat! The people had risen in a mass for the first time upon the timid race of animals, which were exterminated in a few months. The pleasures of the chace, hitherto confined to a few, were now entirely put an end to. The inhabitants of the rivers escaped this general destruction, because it requires patience, industry or art, to destroy them; and the destroyers possessed neither of the three. Let us hope that the efforts of the same armed banditti, as long as the destruction of order is their aim, will at least be baffled by that same element; and that the sea will at last set bounds to the victories of those immense armies, which, like the locusts in Egypt, conquer and destroy merely, by their numbers: or let us hope, that in the end they will turn against themselves: for

nature has fixed a bound to the destroying principle, by making it attack itself.

A modification of the hasty decrees of the fourth of August, regulating the manner of redeeming the tythes of the clergy, and the feudal rights that were of a valuable nature, only served to augment the mischief. Emisaries were heard in all places, harranguing against that many-headed monster, which they called the Aristocracy, and which they said was going to revive. The generous manner in which the first sacrifices were made, now lost all its value with the receivers of the benefit, as imprudent generosity always does. The nobles and the people became open enemies. The burning of castles, and title deeds, became an amusement, which the leaders of the clubs and the orators of the assembly encouraged by their words and actions.

In France, where they had been always accustomed to the terms of Good God and the Holy Church, and where, in general, every thing is good or bad in the extreme degree, the name of the people was seldom pronounced, without being pronounced by the adjective Good; as that of the king, priests, and nobles, was by some a title either of reproach or contempt.

Those practices were begun in Paris, but imitated all over the extent of the kingdom, with a rapidity and exactness that nothing

less than the affiliation of the clubs could have given rise to. Those who are anywise acquainted with the manner in which uninstructed, as well as young minds, are acted upon, know that epithets of approbation or reproach, artfully and constantly applied, are the most capable of destroying old prejudices, or creating new.

It will be difficult for posterity to believe to what a ridiculous length the enthusiasm was carried; for it will never be credited, that the obedience of the child to the father, was affected to be traced to the feudal system; and thus one of the most sacred bonds of the human race was loosened, and that for the first time; hitherto, by polished and by savage nations, by the Christian and the infidel, the sacred rights of a father had never been disputed. The philosophy and knowledge of the eighteenth century had made a new discovery; and unluckily the state of society was sufficiently depraved, to reduce it to practice.

The opposition which the execution of these decrees met with from some of the nobles, only increased the mischief. And, as the ordinary course of industry was stopped, (for nobody thought of building, planting, or improving, in a country a prey to disorder) the licentious and idle formed themselves into regular bands, for the purpose of burning and plundering, without paying any atten-

tion to whom the property belonged.

The decrees of the assembly to prevent these excesses, only increased them; for the assembly had no power to put any orders in force. The assembly had no executive power, but through the medium of the king and his ministers, whom they had set the example of disobeying and ill-treating; so that to expect obedience to themselves, was not only ridiculous, but unfair. Though we cannot see without displeasure, as well as censure, the unruly and unprincipled conduct of the people; yet we must see that of the instigators with feelings of the same sort still more strong. The people have been, are, and always will be, subservient to the will and views of those who have the art to manage them, by gratifying their passions. Incapable of any regular combination or unanimity of themselves, they must be guided by some general motives. The assembly had power enough with the people, when they chose to decree any thing that corresponded with their wishes; but whatever did not, was, as at the time we are speaking of, always left without force.

With one hand, the assembly set the people loose effectually; and with the other, they shewed their desire to regulate their course, by what might have the appearance of wisdom and moderation. It

was by such conduct that, while they served the cause of disorder at home, they persuaded people in other nations, that they were regulated by justice and sound principles of morality. This judgment may to some people seem harsh, and it is proper to support it with some reasons.

First of all, the constituent assembly continually persevered in the same plan of destroying old laws, before they made new ones, by that means leaving a sort of interregnum in law, which could not but breed disorder. Again, that confusion of those empty, unjust, or ridiculous feudal rights, which demanded a total abolition; with those which, being matters of real property, required a compensation, could not have arisen from ignorance; it must have been done with intention. The constituent assembly was by no means composed of ignorant men; and their readiness and acuteness at comprehending, was remarkably great. It could not then be from ignorance; particularly, as the oppressive and useful parts of the feudal system, was not a new subject of discussion, but had been discussed at different times, and in different countries. Besides, it only required common sense, and a feeling of common justice, to see that the whole was not capable of being comprehended under one general principle; it is, therefore, very certain that the National Assembly

did not do so. As a still further argument, we may certainly be allowed to quote the future conduct of the same men; did not they proscribe the order of the nobles in less than one twelvemonth after? Did not they, likewise, lay violent hands upon the whole of the revenues of the church? and has not the famous Abbé Seyeyes, who assisted on the fourth of August—who assisted Brissot, Danton, and Robespierre, and who is still a leading man—did not he calmly say with all the cruel *sang froid* of an executioner, when they were speaking of destroying nobility, “Destroy nobility,” says he, “that’s impossible, you must exterminate the nobles.” All those reasons give a great appearance of probability to the intention we have alledged; and though they will weigh more or less with people, according to the eyes with which they view the consequences which have resulted, yet to such as have had an opportunity of examining minutely the character and conduct of the leading men in that assembly, no doubts will remain.

The king sanctioned this decree with readiness, as was to be expected. Under the last of a democratic assembly, in danger from a democratic mob, and aided by the councils of a democratic minister, he could not do otherwise.

“France, at this time,” says Rabaut de St. Etienne, (who wrote the history of the first period of the revolution)

revolution) " might have been
 " likened to an immense chaos ;
 " power was suspended, authority
 " disowned, and the wrecks of the
 " feudal system were added to the
 " vast ruins. And every thing
 " tended to excite an apprehen-
 " sion, that the kingdom, would
 " become a prey to anarchy."
 " So much for the admission of
 the disorders introduced by one
 of the members of the conven-
 tion, who was long one of the
 leading men. " But," continues
 he, " a people which hath grown
 " old in the habitude of order
 " feels the want of it, and cannot
 " long dispense with it. The pro-
 " prietors were all in arms, and
 " this proved the salvation of
 " France; for that class of men
 " who have nothing to lose, and
 " every thing to gain in a revolu-
 " tion, was restrained from assem-
 " bling any where through the
 " fear of a repulse."†

† See page 130 of Rabaut's History of the Revolution of France, translated by James White, Esq. published for Debrett, Picadilly. Rabaut was the son of a well-known and much respected Protestant clergyman at Nismes, in the south of France, of the name of Paul Rabaut. The son was by no means without merit and abilities, and as he had been often obliged to preach, like John the Baptist, in the desert, to an oppressed body of industrious, honest, and loyal subjects, he naturally must have felt strongly for the oppressions exercised in former times; he was, therefore, more to be excused than any other of those who went

M. Rabaut avows the existence of anarchy, but denies its consequences; and he shews us also, that even democratic leaders expect the preservation of order only from the exertion of proprietors who are interested in it, and who dread disorder from those, who having nothing to lose expect to profit by confusion. Truth, extorted from one of their leaders, this confession of faith, which but ill suited a man who constantly acted with the Jacobin society, whose principles were so different. But Rabaut was ambitious and vindictive; he had purposes to serve, and passions to gratify, and therefore did not act as he thought. With respect to his opinion, that France was saved, and order restored, his own miserable end, and

headlong into the revolution. Monsieur Rabaut, in aiding to humiliate the Church of Rome, could not be accused of apostacy, however, he might be suspected of being actuated by vengeance. He abandoned the Jacobins during the second assembly, and made, for a time, one of what was called the moderate party; but, on the triumph of the Jacobins, on the 10th of August, he joined them again, which is a severe reproach, as it shewed the strength of a party weighed more with him than their principles. When Brissot fell, Rabaut was condemned as a fugitive; he was taken and executed, and his wife, who had contributed not a little, it is said, to the violent conduct of her husband, put an end to her own existence. Such are the effects of revolutions upon those who otherwise would have been happy and virtuous!

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that both of his first and his last associates in the revolution, are proofs to the contrary.†

As the assembly had not yet got full possession of the executive

† As M. Rabaut's History contains some good things, and the reputation of the writer, as well as the circumstance of his being an actor himself, will naturally give it considerable weight with people, it is but well to observe, that every political event, such as taking the Bastille, the 5th of October, &c. he gives what may be styled the most vulgar version. He gives it just as it was publicly spread abroad at the time; now the truth never was known at the moment. It is inconceivable how a man of talents, and of industry, could be at such little pains; and it is more than probable, that he wrote with some particular design. As an example, he says, after the 5th of October the Duke of Orleans, with M. de la Fayette, prevailed upon the king to grant him a commission to the court of London. Now, in the first place, M. d'Orleans had no commission to the court of London, and returned without leave to France nine months after. Secondly, La Fayette was become his mortal enemy. And, lastly, the trial instituted at the court of the Chatelet, proved to every unprejudiced man, that the duke was a principal leader in the affair of the 5th of October. Rabaut might entertain what opinion he pleased, but why does he pass over these facts? An artful historian may give a false colouring sometimes, but it is in vain to attempt concealing what is publicly known. Rabaut just gives it as it was believed among the people at the time, for soon after, even the lowest rabble thought the duke guilty in the affair.

power, for M. Necker was not prepared to follow them in all their mad projects; it was very desirable to reduce him by necessity to yield at discretion. No money had been obtained by any thing that the states general had done, and therefore money was as much wanting as ever. M. Mecker proposed making a small loan of thirty millions at five per cent. The assembly, though the loan was to be without security, though credit, both public and private, was at an end, and money could not be obtained at eight or even ten per cent. thought proper to reduce the interest offered, to four and a half per cent. Six per cent. was the common rate of interest in France. This reduction must either be looked upon as a whim, as an insult to M. Necker, or as a means of depriving the court of the money; or, perhaps, a combination of all these reasons together. It is most probable, that the real intention was to disgust M. Necker, and throw the court into their own hands; for the court enjoyed some degree of public confidence, in matters of finance, as long as M. Necker should continue to administer them. We shall see many things that will confirm us in the belief, that this plan did actually exist.

This loan had no success; M. Necker was not accustomed to meet with such treatment, nor prepared tamely to bear it. He remonstrated, and having truth and justice

on his side, threw the blame unanswerably on the assembly.

Another loan, of eighty millions, was proposed, with the intention, however, of only realizing forty, as, according to a method often practised in France, but which gave rise to much stock-jobbing, one-half was received from the subscribers in government paper already issued, and funded at a lower interest. This second loan had better, but not entire success; and it was soon perceived, that as M. Necker was no longer the conductor, as the king was no longer king, as the levying of taxes was become precarious, and the assembly neither seemed to understand finance; nor be governed by any fixed principles, loans would not do any longer, and that some other mode must be adopted, was not so much the talk of the assembly as of the whole nation.

Paper money, as it was then called, seemed to be the only resource; but Mirabeau in the assembly, speaking of that, expressed himself with his usual energy, saying, that paper money was an impost levied by the point of the bayonet, (*c'étoit un impôt fait le sabre à la main*) that it was contrary to the rights of men which they were establishing, and that it was the greatest act of despotism of which the rules of a nation could be guilty.

If at that time the court could have been fully supplied with money, the assembly run a very con-

siderable risk. M. Necker was no longer its friend, but was become that of his master. He had resources for raising money, while the assembly had none; and he still enjoyed a portion of his former popularity, he was to be considered as a dangerous man. There is not, indeed, a doubt, but that M. Necker, whose aim in all that had been done, was to gratify his own ambition, and who thought to rule the assembly, finding himself reduced to a state of insignificance, would have been very ready to join in any safe plan to arrange matters upon the old footing.

Mirabeau, with ambition and hardiness for undertaking any thing, and capable of executing a great deal, was pushed on by his friend and counsellor Claviere, who had an unconquerable aversion to his countryman M. Necker; so that there was on all hands reason for the one party to hate and mistrust the other. To prevent the court from having any effectual supply of money was the only probable method of gaining the victory for the party of Mirabeau, and therefore to deny the only resource was the best means.

Nevertheless, the misery and discontent of the people was extreme; no money was issued from the royal treasury to pay the renters in Paris, who lived on the interest of money lent to the state; in return, they could not pay any body. The distress be-

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came general, and was prodigiously augmented by the want of grain, which had now increased to a greater pitch than ever. The discredit which the paper of the *caisse d'escompte* had fallen into, in consequence of the discovery, that that company had lent a greater sum than all its original capital to government, augmented the evil, by decreasing the quantity of the circulating medium.

It was during this, that the party of Orleans is suspected, by the sudden death of a money-broker, whose bankruptcy amounted to above fifty-five French millions, and who was found laying with his brains blown out, in the middle of a wood, to have procured a large supply of money, which enabled the intrigues to go on with considerable spirit,* and prepared the way for a complete triumph over the court.

* M. Pinet was found in the Bois de Boulogne, with his brains blown out with a pistol; it was reported every where immediately that he had shot himself; but the story, never before published, of which, however, the proofs are in the hands of some of the creditors, is too curious in itself, and too interesting, as shewing to what lengths the duke carried his villainy, to be omitted. After the revolt in July, when the Bastile was taken, it was a general opinion in Paris that the mob would pillage the bankers and rich money-brokers. Pinet, who was known to have large transactions, was the agent de change of d'Orleans, and for security delivered to him his strong box, contain-

From the necessity on one hand, of procuring money to go on with the expenses of the state, which was felt by the assembly itself, as well as the court; and, on the other hand, the danger of allowing M. Necker and the court to be in possession of a full treasury, it was determined to give the kingly power a deadly blow in time, so as to have nothing in future to fear. This, however, could only be done by getting possession of the

ing in notes and other value, for about twenty-two millions. The duke gave him a receipt for the strong box, and when the end of the month arrived, peace being a little restored to the capital, and the monthly payments coming round, he demanded the strong box. The duke told him, he had sent the whole to a country house, which he had at Passy, on the side of the Bois de Boulogne, invited Pinet to come and dine with him, and bring the receipt which he had given him, and the strong box should be delivered. The poor unsuspecting banker came and dined with the duke, who contrived to persuade him to be conducted by one of his servants in a cabriol across the wood; this he consented to, having an intention of going to his father-in-law, who lived at St. Germain. He was found two days after in the wood, with a pistol shot that had entered his head from behind, and the contents of his strong box, as well as the strong box itself, were never heard of. That this should actually happen, and no body dare to complain, is not surprising; it would have cost very little trouble to the duke, and not a single reflection, to have destroyed whoever had ventured to unveil the mystery.

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king's person, or by putting him to death, and placing another on the throne, who should be in the true spirit of the revolution.

An insurrection was necessary for either of these purposes. Those who wish for complete information on that affair, should consult the letter published by M. Mounier, who was president of the assembly when the insurrection happened; from which, as well as the trial instituted against the Duke of Orleans, it appears beyond a doubt, that the plan was laid and executed by his party; that it failed as to the taking away the life of the king and his family; but that the plan was artfully changed to that of getting possession of his person. It would require a large portion of a volume to enter completely upon this subject; which would be totally inconsistent with the plan of this work, at the same time that it is impossible to pass over slightly so material an event, as that of getting possession of the king and his family, and thereby of the keys of the royal treasury; and, in short, holding the unfortunate royal pair under the poignards of the Jacobins, till the moment should arrive when their destruction might be convenient.

In the present plot, the errors of the court assisted as much as usual in aiding its enemies. At a feast given by the life guards of the king to another regiment, they committed the imprudence of get-

ting drunk, and expressing, in very plain terms, their attachment to their king, and their contempt for his enemies. The royal family had honoured their faithful servants by appearing in the room where the banquet was given; and if any thing could add to the enthusiasm which wine and music inspired, it was the presence of the queen of France. The guards became frantic; and their gestures, their words, and their songs, were all, as might indeed have been expected, repeated to their enemies. Though the king and queen had only appeared for a moment, and had witnessed nothing of the mad scene, yet they had heard of it without disapproving; and how was it possible for human nature to testify displeasure, situated as they were? Abandoned by the greater number of their former friends, and by the army, and particularly by the regiment of French guards, it was impossible to feel displeasure at the affection of the few faithful servants who remained; and the king of France did not know what it was to assume the appearance of anger that he could not feel. In his prosperity he had never done so, and to his latest hour he was never known to do it, neither did he probably think it necessary. Without either plans or plots, at that time, the court was totally unguarded, and its enemies considered this as the signal for striking the blow.

Reports

Reports had been industriously spread, that the king had a design of escaping, and throwing himself and his family into the frontier fortress of Metz, but no traces of such a plan were ever discovered, although they have been much searched for; and though a plot deranged is generally unravelled, and in this case ought not to have been very difficult, as the victorious party were left masters of Versailles, and therefore had every means of acquiring information that could be wished for; information so eagerly sought after, but which never was obtained.

Although the whole nation might be said to be converted into spies over the actions of the court; although accusation, as well as insurrection, was considered as one of the virtuous actions and duties of free men, yet no person ever came forward to offer a single fact that could only to the probability of the existence of such a plot. The feast of the king's guards, and the unsuspicious conduct of the court, did not look as if a plot of this sort was in train, for then all parties would have been more on their guard. Besides, the evident intention of the court was to acquire sufficiently the affections of the regiment of Flanders, which was newly arrived at Versailles, in order to be out of the reach of any ill treatment from the rebel soldiers of the French guards, who being incorporated

with the national guards, claimed the right of guarding the king in rotation with the others.

Nothing could equal the fears which the court entertained of the revolted guards, (who at all times had been, as individuals, every thing that was bad,) since the great victory of the Bastille, since they had chased away their officers, and were daily seen committing every excess of which soldiers intoxicated, and without subordination, are capable. They had obliged the town of Paris to distribute a large sum of money amongst them, under the false pretence of its being their due; and were now decorated with an order instituted to commemorate the victory of the Bastille, they were held in detestation by all sober citizens, as well as by the court, so that it could be no matter of wonder if the inhabitants of the palace were afraid of their mounting guard there. Though the method of securing the affection of another regiment was both useless and imprudent, it was not unnatural,† and accounts very well for what happened.

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† There does not seem to be any possibility of restoring discipline to soldiers by good treatment, after it is lost; and undisciplined men can never be counted upon for any thing but revolt. It is therefore very well for those who want plunder and disorder, to employ such means, but not for those who wish the contrary. On the affair of

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The scarcity of bread in Paris, which was alarmingly great, was attributed to the court, although the court, it was notorious, had no means either of doing good or harm. It is true, that there was reason to think that the enemies of the new system, who were always ready to speak, but never to act, did expect that the people would be soon disgusted with liberty and no bread; that they had circulated a sort of *bon-mot* on the subject, to the purpose, that when the people had but one king, they had plenty of bread; but now that they had twelve hundred kings, they had none. Scarcity of bread is too serious an evil for those who feel it, to give any relish to a joke; and it is as impolitic as it is cruel, to think of producing any good in any case, by occasioning a scarcity of the necessaries of life amongst the poor. It would be just as wise to think of employing an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, to prevent the invasion of Italy, as to think of turning to any good purpose a tumult occasioned by the want of so necessary an article as bread.

The impatience of the people was so much the greater, that they expected the revolution would have

the 4th of October, women, who were in the most shabby attire, were seen distributing money amongst the soldiers of that same regiment, who did as the French guards had done in the month of July, they revolted against their officers, and became a mutinous, useless regiment from that very hour,

been terminated before this time. The general notion was, that happiness, freedom and plenty, would be established before the winter came on; and now that it was fast approaching, they saw their misery quickly augmenting; all this put the Parisians, who are naturally the most impatient people in the world, in a fermentation, that needed but the signal for breaking out in acts of violence.

The court was the only mark at which the people could direct their fury, unless upon the supposition of the national assembly being become unpopular, which could not be the case, as it had only been employed in making harangues to please, and destroying whatever might displease the people. Whereas the king, by having refused to sanction the bill of rights, and some other decrees of the assembly, seemed to be the cause of that ruin of credit and confidence, and that stagnation of the circulation of money, and of the necessaries of life, which tormented and frightened every one.

Still, perhaps, the tumult would not have broke out with great violence, had not money been distributed amongst the dregs of the people by unknown agents. The workmen, who were employed from charity to remove earth upon the hill of Montmartre, were seen playing at petit palet with double louis d'ors, in the midst of this general distress for money; and the lowest
and

and most abandoned of the market women were seen with their pockets full of pieces of six livres.

It was this same description of people, that on the Monday morning, the 4th of October, went in a tumultuous manner to the town-house, overturned the desks, broke open the drawers, and from thence went off to Versailles, about ten o'clock, upon the pretence of seeking bread. Along with this rabble went a portion of the licentious regiment of French guards; they dragged with them some pieces of cannon, and forced all the women they met to accompany them. The women, particularly those who were better dressed than the others, and were thus compelled to march, were placed in front, with the avowed design of preventing those persons attached to his majesty, who might be inclined to resist from firing upon women, who, for any thing they knew, might be their own relations.

A man of the name of Maillard put himself at the head of this unruly army, and was in some measure obeyed, so that until they arrived at Versailles, less damage was done than from such a mob might have been expected.

But the national guards of Paris, as well as the more decent class of citizens who remained, were extremely uneasy. Great numbers of people having been compelled to march, every one was anxious that they might not be butchered

by the life guards and the regiment of Flanders. This natural anxiety, more than any other reason, determined them to follow to Versailles. M. de la Fayette hesitated to obey those whom he expected to command, but was forced to comply by the unanswerable argument of the lantern, which was just ready within a few yards of his horse, and which, it is not to be doubted, would have been employed.

About five in the afternoon this second emigration from Paris took place, and la Fayette went literally guarded as a prisoner by his own troops, and apparently with great reluctance†. It is of importance to observe, that nobody in Paris had any idea that they were gone to fetch the king and royal family, although they did not fail on their return to give that as their object. M. Rabaut says in his history, "that no pencil can paint the frantic joy of the Parisians on seeing the guards march with an intention of seeking and bringing away their king." It is very strange that he alone should have heard of the joy; for it is certain, that except on the first night of the revolution, and per-

† Two American gentlemen, friends of la Fayette, met this cavalcade near the gate of Chaillot, by the Champs Elisées; he seemed to them to be in a state of great consternation, and having stopped his horse only an instant as they passed by, one of national soldiers took him by his bridle instantly, and with an oath forced him to advance.

haps not even then, were the people of Paris so uneasy from fear of the catastrophe that next day was probably to witness.

The citizens who remained, applauded, indeed, those who went, wished they might succeed, and return safe; but the uncertainty of the event was such, as could not in the nature of things admit of frantic joy. There was scarcely a family in Paris where the father, mother, or some of the sons or daughters were not gone upon that uncertain and dangerous expedition. It was very natural to wish to see it terminated peaceably by the national guards, whose arrival during the night would at least prevent bloodshed from continuing, should it have been commenced; but farther than this, it was impossible they could, in such circumstances, carry their hopes.

The disorder on the arrival of the first troop at Versailles was immense. The hall of the assembly was near the road to the palace, so that naturally they must stop there first. Maillard, the commander, spoke for the troop at first, and demanded bread, and reparation for the affront offered to the nation by the life guards.

The assembly sent a deputation to the king, to acquaint him with the demands of the mob, and to require his sanction of the bill of rights, together with some other articles of the constitution. The answer of the king to the de-

mand of the people was a promise on his part to do every thing in his power to aid them, and to the assembly an acceptance of the act, but with some observations. The assembly would admit of no observations, which they said were a sort of protest against the sanction. So that the king was obliged to obey, and thus once more made a sacrifice of power, without gaining any credit or good-will by what he did.

As it is our business to trace out those events that evidently took place by design, rather than to turn our attention to what were merely the effects of accident, it is not very much to our purpose to inquire into the inevitable disorders of that afternoon and evening. How could some quarrels be avoided although the king had given orders not to fire, and his guards did not fire? The people who had come from Paris, whatever might be the intention of the greater number, formed too promiscuous an assemblage to be all guided by any one sentiment; plunder was the end of many amongst them, and plunder could only be obtained by exciting disorder. For so long as the iron rails and the iron gates facing the palace were kept shut, there was no more chance of plunder than if they had been upon a barren heath. Several attempts were made to force the gate, and in the dark the confusion was great, but without serious consequences.

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M. de la Fayette arrived with his 15,000 commanders towards midnight. The time and the circumstances obliging all parties to remain inactive. The national guards, instead of waiting in arms till morning, were distributed in the houses of the citizens at Versailles. The rabble, from want of any regular method of distribution, remained in groups, and some of them in the national hall, which they filled during the night, and spoke and voted along with the deputies, who affected to continue their deliberations in the midst of tumult.

No sooner did day-light begin to appear, than the unruly mob, which had first arrived from Paris, attacked the palace, forced the outer gates, and pursued the centinels to the inner apartments, where they thought they could make a better resistance. The threats and imprecations uttered against the queen left no doubt of what was intended, but the brave resistance of some of the life guards retarded their progress, sufficiently for the king and queen to be apprised of what was going on.—The first movement was to search each other and their children. The queen avoided death that day by escaping from her apartment only a few seconds before the door was broke open, and the assassins, who found themselves deprived of their prey, exercised their rage by committing every sort of excess that

inanimate matter would permit.—The banditti, though after a considerable loss of time, were proceeding to search out the king and queen, or at least to follow the queen to his majesty's apartments, when the Parisian national guard being assembled put an end to their pursuit. Several of the brave life guards fell victims to their fidelity, and two were inhumanly butchered before the king's windows by the mob.

The arrival of the Parisian guards, who were very numerous, though it prevented the perpetration of that horrid crime that was intended, not by any vigorous resistance that they made, but merely by their occupying all the avenues and apartments, so as to render a greater influx of the rabble impossible, did by no means put an end to the disturbances without. The king, on purpose to appease the mob, and prevent the longer continuance of murder amongst his faithful servants, appeared at a balcony over the court where the greatest crowd was assembled. The queen and the two children accompanied him, and it was then, for the first time, that a cry was heard of "The king to Paris." His majesty promised to go, provided his guards should be protected from farther destruction. It was now that things changed their appearance; all was joy, good nature and peace.

It is beyond a doubt, then, that one of the objects was to bring the

the king to Paris, and it seems to be equally certain, that this object was only occasioned by the failure of some other project, for in such a tumultuous and mixed assembly, it was impossible that the general intention could have been concealed. It cannot be credited, that the mob left Paris the day before with the intention of doing this, and that no signs of that intention should appear. If the leaders of the mob really imagined the court wished to go to Mentz, they took a method more likely to produce a bad effect than a good one, by menacing the queen, and filling the royal apartments in this manner. The national guards should have made known their intention the night before on their arrival, and all would have been peaceable.

It is possible, that there might have been two parties, as M. Rabaut says, amongst the mob, and that only one of them meant to murder the royal family. But who was the leader of this party, for it was not without a leader or leaders, that they began so precipitately at day-break to put their plan in execution? A mob without leaders assembles irregularly, and commits irregular disorders, as this one did the night before. But here, on the morning of the 5th, in one quarter of an hour, that mob assembled from all the bye streets, the courts, the alleys, and other places, where, during a rainy night, they had taken shelter, and all press forward

for one object, to break into the palace, and seize the royal family. This was certainly not the work of chance, nor spontaneous movement, but of design; and it neither was to procure bread, to prevent the royal family from going to Mentz, nor to bring the king to Paris.

A small portion of the rabble returned to Paris, carrying the head of two of the life guards; and those who remained threw all the infamy of the massacre and attack on the palace upon them. But the fact was quite otherwise, for the women, the French guards, and the far greater portion of the rabble, only left Versailles at the same time with the national guards and the king. The whole of the mob was present at the attack on the palace, and though only a small number could penetrate into the interior; it is allowed by every one, that till the national guards came, all parties operated to the same end, though that end had failed, it was very natural, as well as convenient, to disavow it.

M. Rabaut says, at this moment the national character was displayed in all its candour. We must be at a loss to conceive, what idea he entertained of candour, when he applies it to any part of what happened that day, which even the enemies of kings could only vindicate on the supposition, that by such infamies greater misery was avoided to the nation. It would

would be absurd to throw upon the people all the blame of such actions, which were evidently conducted by a party, and which were vindicated by the assembly, and by all those persons who had the power in their hands. Why, if only a small number were known to be guilty of these excesses, was not that small number punished, or, at least, sought after? If the rulers of the assembly did not approve of making the king prisoner in this manner, why did they not shew their displeasure? On the contrary, to remove every difficulty in the way, they decreed, that they would not separate from the king, and that a deputation, of their members should accompany him to Paris; to some of the members of which deputation an order was given to seek out the most commodious place in Paris for holding the sittings of the assembly.

The procession of fallen majesty to Paris was one of the most confused, the most humiliating, and the most riotous that ever was exhibited. The candour of the nation might be perceptible to some persons, but its depravity and ferocity of manners were evident to all. The king's carriages, preceded, and followed by the revolted guards and citizens in the insurrection, mixed with the life guards, with whom, under the appearance of reconciliation, they had changed part of their uniforms,

men and women of the lowest and most haggard appearance riding upon cannons, and carrying loaves upon the points of pikes; all this together, filled the road for several miles, and arrived at Paris in the evening of the same day.

The Parisians, in general, seemed rejoiced to possess their king within their walls; they were taught to believe, that it would lower the price of bread, and restore plenty. And there was actually some foundation for this belief, for now the assembly might be considered as the supreme head of the nation, to whose will nobody could any longer oppose resistance; whereas before they had the court, which still preserved some power, and the assembly, which of consequence was limited as to its authority, and as the two were at variance, the confidence in government could not be such as in case of one supreme will, or a concurrence of wills, tending towards one purpose.

It would be improper and unfair, to say, that the party of the Duke of Orleans actually aspired either at the regency or the throne, because it has not been proved; but then it is to be observed, the contrary was by no means established. It would be equally unfair to acquit the duke on account of the report of M. Chabron, in which he was found not guilty, as it would be to condemn him, because the revolutionary tribunal condemned him as guilty. At no time

time has justice been administered in France since the revolution, and every person who has been judged by any of the tribunals for political affairs, has suffered, or been acquitted according to the power and influence of his party at the time.

The inquiry concerning the duke, though it ended in his favour, certainly tends much more to find him guilty than otherwise, though there was not any positive proof. It is certain, that during the Monday he was in the Bois de Boulogne on horseback, and sending messengers, (jockies or stable boys) with the greatest speed to Versailles and Paris, at different intervals; it is certain, that during the night he was not visible, either at Paris or Versailles; and different persons gave evidence, that they saw two men, whom they supposed to be him and the Duke de Biron in disguise, pointing out the passage that led to the queen's apartments in the morning of the attack. A person was heard to say in the crowd, when the queen had escaped, and the national guards were arriving, "*Monseigneur le coup est manqué.*" No other person but himself, could be addressed in this style; and about ten o'clock he arrived in his post chaise and four from Paris, to assist in his place

at the assembly as usual. The duke had the best horses in France, and in three quarters of an hour could go from Paris to Versailles, and he had at least three hours and an half to perform the journey, having from half past six to ten. It is true, some of the duke's servants swore to his being at home and in bed all that night; but this was the most improbable of all things. The duke was a very active man, and never went to bed when interest or ambition required him to be up. He was deeply concerned in the result of this business, whether it was his own plan or not, and as he was proved to have been very much employed the day before, his going to Paris and *sleeping* was extremely improbable; and even his deliberate arrival at Versailles at the usual hour of going to the assembly, was a proof that he went to conceal something; for it was like a man arriving who knew nothing of what was going on, which could not be the case. All this was a proof presumptive, at least, of his being guilty; and if any one feels a reluctance to find him so, let his conduct since voting for the death of the king be remembered, which puts his criminality of intention beyond a doubt.

(To be continued).

HIGH TREASON,

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

MR. STONE'S TRIAL.

(Continued from page 120.)

AFTER every obstacles had been removed, the following Gentlemen were returned and sworn upon the pannel:—

J. LEADER, of Tottenham-court-road, Esq.

J. MAYHEW, of Hornsey, Esq.

J. ETHERINGTON, of Newington-Green, Esq.

T. COLE, Esq.

CHARLES MINIER, Strand, Esq.

DANIEL DYSON, Esq.

THOMAS BURNETT, Esq.

WILLIAM SOMNER, Esq.

JOHN LOCKYRE, Esq.

PETER TAYLOR, of Old-Stairs, Esq.

W. WEST, Esq.

ISAAC DIMSDALE, Esq.

The counsel for the Prisoner were, Mr. Serjeant Adair, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Gibbs.

The prosecution was conducted by the Attorney and Solicitor General, Mr. Law, and Mr. Garrow.

The indictment against the prisoner was then read, in substance as follows:

ABSTRACT OF THE INDICTMENT.

The preamble and the first count states, That on the first day of March 1794, in the 34th year of His Majesty's reign, and long before, and continually from thence hitherto, war was and is carried on between the King and the persons exercising the powers of government in France. And that William

Stone, late of Old Ford, in the county of Middlesex, merchant, did compass, imagine, &c. and to fulfil his treasonable compassings and imaginations, on the first of March aforesaid, and on divers other days, as well before as after, at Old Ford aforesaid—

1st Overt Act.

Did conspire, consult, consent and agree with one John Hurford Stone, and one William Jackson, and other traitors unknown, to aid and assist, and to seduce, persuade, and procure divers subjects of the king to aid and assist the said persons exercising the powers of government in France, in an hostile invasion of the dominions of the king.

2d Overt Act.

And further, on the said first of March, at Old Ford aforesaid, did conspire, consult, consent and agree with the said John Hurford Stone and William Jackson, and other traitors unknown, to levy war within this kingdom, and to invite, persuade, and procure the said persons exercising the powers of government in France, to invade this kingdom, and carry on the said war within this kingdom.

3d Overt Act.

And further, on the said first of March, at Old Ford aforesaid, well knowing the said William Jackson

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traiterously

traiterously to have come to and landed in this kingdom for the traiterous purpose of procuring and obtaining intelligence and information, whether the subjects of the king were or were not well affected to the king and his government, and were or were not likely to join with and assist the forces of the said persons exercising the powers of government in France, in case of an invasion, and of sending, and causing to be sent such intelligence and information to the said persons exercising the powers of government in France, for the aid, assistance, direction, and instruction of the said enemies of the king, in their conduct and prosecution of the war, did maliciously and traiterously receive and treat with the said William Jackson, at Old Ford aforesaid, for the aid, assistance, and direction of the said William Jackson, in the execution of his traiterous purpose aforesaid, and did then and there maliciously and traiterously aid, consert with, abet, and assist the said William Jackson in, about, and concerning the execution of his traiterous purpose aforesaid.

4th Overt Act.

And further, on the said first of March, at Old Ford aforesaid, did conspire, consult, consent, and agree with the said John Hurford Stone, William Jackson, and other traitors unknown, to collect and obtain, and to cause to be collected and obtained information and intelligence within this kingdom and

the kingdom of Ireland, whether any, and what part of the subjects of the king were disposed to aid and assist the said persons exercising the powers of government in France in an hostile invasion of any, and what part of this kingdom, or the kingdom of Ireland, for the prosecution of the war, and to communicate, notify, and reveal, and to cause to be communicated, notified, and revealed such intelligence and information to the persons exercising the powers of government in France, for the aid, assistance, direction, and instruction of the said enemies in their conduct of the war.

5th Overt Act.

And further, on the said first of March, at Old Ford aforesaid, did enquire, and cause to be enquired of divers persons in this kingdom, and did collect and obtain, and cause to be collected and obtained from such persons, information and intelligence whether the subjects of the king were or were not well affected to the king and his government, and were or were not likely to join with and assist the forces of the said persons exercising the powers of government in France, in case an invasion should be by them made of this kingdom, with intent to communicate such information and intelligence to the king's enemies.

6th Overt Act.

And further, on the said first of March, at Old Ford aforesaid, did obtain, and in his custody and possession,

session, did keep divers notes, memorandums, and instructions in writing, containing information how the subjects of the king were affected to his person and government, and in what manner they were likely to act in case of an invasion of the kingdom; with intent to communicate, and cause to be communicated, such intelligence and information to the persons exercising the powers of government in France, for their aid and assistance, in their conduct and prosecution of the said war.

7th Overt Act.

And further, on the said first of March, at Old Ford aforesaid, did send, and cause and procure to be sent from this kingdom, to be delivered in foreign parts beyond the seas, divers other letters, notes, memorandums, and instructions in writing, containing information and intelligence, how the subjects of the king were affected and disposed, and in what manner they were likely to act in case of an invasion, with intent to communicate the same to his majesty's enemies.

8th Overt Act.

And further, on the said first of March, at Old Ford aforesaid, did, with the said William Jackson, and other traitors unknown, conspire to levy war against the king within the kingdom of Ireland, and to cause, procure, and invite the said persons exercising the powers of government in France, to invade the kingdom of Ireland.

9th Overt Act.

And further, on the said first of March, at Old Ford aforesaid, did conspire, consult, consent, and agree with the said William Jackson, and other traitors unknown, that he the said William Jackson, should go to, and land in Ireland, for the purpose of procuring intelligence and information whether the subjects of the king in Ireland, were or were not well-affected and disposed, and were or were not likely to join with and assist the forces of the said persons exercising the powers of government in France, in case of an invasion in the kingdom of Ireland; and of sending, and causing to be sent, such intelligence and information to the persons exercising the powers of government in France, for their aid and support in the conduct of the war; and did then and there aid and assist the said William Jackson, in going to and landing in the kingdom of Ireland, for the prosecution, performance, and execution of the traitorous purpose last mentioned; and which said William Jackson, in pursuance of the said last mentioned conspiracy, &c. heretofore, and during the said war, viz. on the 28th of March, in the 34th year aforesaid, did go and land in Ireland, and did stay and continue there for a long time, viz. for the space of one month, for the prosecution and completion of the traitorous purpose last mentioned.

10th Overt Act.

And further, after the said William Jackson had gone to and landed in Ireland, for the traitterous purpose last mentioned, and while the said William Jackson remained in Ireland, for the traitterous purpose last mentioned, and during the said war, viz. on the fifth of April, in the 34th year of our reign, at Old Ford aforesaid, did correspond with, advise, counsel, aid, abet, and assist the said William Jackson in and about the prosecution of the traitterous purpose last mentioned.

11th Overt Act.

And further, on said first of March, at Old Ford aforesaid, did furnish and supply, and caused to be furnished and supplied, and aid and assist in furnishing and supplying the said William Jackson with divers sums of money, bills of exchange, and notes for payment of money, thereby to enable the said William Jackson to fulfil, perform, and execute his traitterous purposes before mentioned.

SECOND COUNT.

That the said William Stone was adhering to, aiding, and assisting the persons exercising the powers of government in France.

Overt Acts,

The same as in the first count.

Mr. Wood opened the proceedings on the part of the crown.

The Attorney General then addressed the court with great ear-

nestness and solemnity. He was now, he said, called upon officially to discharge that painful, but very important and necessary duty of arraigning that gentleman at the bar of offences the highest and most dangerous with which a state could be affected; aware, however, of the obligations which the office that he held, and his duty as a subject imposed upon him, he would endeavour to perform it with due firmness; with that justice which he owed to society, and also to the prisoner as one of the individuals which composed it. Should the gentleman accused be able to prove the loyalty of his conduct, and the purity of his intention; should he succeed in exculpating himself from the guilt imputed to him, he, in common with every other Englishman, would rejoice, that one who was their fellow-subject was deserving of that name. But he believed, that when the evidence was fairly and fully examined, the jury would find great difficulty in saying no more than pronouncing him not guilty.

It was possible enough, that a person placed as he was in the office of an accuser, should view such charges as were now made with some degree of prejudice; but the constitution of Great Britain happily provided, that the accused had counsel, who could do away any impressions which may be communicated from the prosecutor to the jury; and that the wisdom of the bench

bench would temper every prejudice, and remove all false impressions.

Upon the law, in this case it was unnecessary for him to say much. Their lordships would explain its extent and application.—The jury had already heard the charges laid in the indictment, founded on the statute of the 25th of Edward III. which was the basis of the laws of treason. The charge generally was of a twofold nature: First, compassing and imagining the death of our sovereign lord the king, and secondly, adhering to his enemies. If any of the overt acts laid in the indictment were substantiated by the evidence, and the crime became complete, and it remained for him to lay before them, with all the precision and perspicuity he was master of, the chain of evidence that should be adduced in support of the several charges.

It was proper, that in this stage of the proceedings, he should state a circumstance which was equally necessary from the duty which he owed the prisoner, as from that for which he was responsible to the public. When the warrant for taking the defendant into custody and seizing on his papers was put into execution, the correspondence with his brother in Paris was given up with the greatest readiness. They were found in a bureau, and an escrutoire of Mrs. Stone; and in the manner of their being kept, betrayed no wish or design of se-

creting or concealing them. The effect, however, of the candid and apparently unsuspecting conduct in the prisoner would be effectually done away, by his denying having held any correspondence with Mr. Jackson, in Ireland, under the name of Enots, which was his own name reversed, and which Mr. King, the under secretary of state, would prove to have found concealed in his house.

It would appear from the evidence, that John Hurford Stone went to Paris in the year 1792, for the professed purpose of setting up a Sal Ammoniac manufactory in France. In the following year war was declared between France and Great Britain, and at that time Hurford Stone considered himself as domiciliated in France; perfectly a subject of that country, and espousing its interest in opposition to those of Great Britain. Under such circumstances it may be a hardship to exact of the prisoner, that he should totally abstain from any kind of intercourse with his brother. But as a subject of this country he acted in defiance of the law, when he sent to and received remittances from France; but much greater was the enormity of his guilt, when he entered into the views of his brother, to encourage an invasion from the enemy. John Hurford Stone declared himself unequivocally in a letter to this effect, which he sent to the prisoner in England, at the commencement of
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the rupture. In this letter, he says,—"Yesterday *we* declared war against *you* in due form. Holland will soon be in our possession; and England will afterwards follow."

On the 22d of November 1793, Stone, at Paris, again writes to his brother, that "he wishes to dispose of the house at Old Ford, otherwise it would assuredly be taken." And, in a subsequent letter of the 9th of December, he desires "that the house at Old Ford may be disposed of with as little loss as possible."

In a letter, dated the 22d of Dec. he repeats his wish that the house at Old Ford may be disposed of, adding—"We are every where invincible. The re-taking of Toulon is a proof—but that is nothing to what you are yet to expect." In all these letters there were intercalary spaces filled up in short hand, which he was unable to explain, but which would obviously appear to have a very mysterious meaning. Amongst these were—"dispose of the house"—"must take place," &c.—all the intermediate spaces being written in short hand.

A letter on the 16th of January, announced a person, an Irishman, and a clergyman, who was to act a very conspicuous part in the present drama, he meant William Jackson. In that letter, Stone, at Paris, introduces him to his brother as his friend—deserving of his hos-

pitality, capable of giving him every explanation. And in some subsequent letters, advises him to correct Jackson's designs. Mr. Jackson had been tried for high treason, and convicted, in Ireland; but he *died* before his execution; and to explain the manner of that death was foreign to his present purpose. Another gentleman, of the name of Hamilton Rowan, was the partner of this conspiracy, and he was also accused and committed for high treason, but contrived to make his escape.

What Jackson's design was, did not admit of the smallest particle of doubt. He came into this country for the purpose of founding the dispositions of the people, and to ascertain whether they were ready to co-operate in an invasion of the enemy. Discovering by their sentiments, that they were not inclined to favour the views of his employers, he then went to make the same experiment in Ireland, where he fancied he found the public mind somewhat better suited to his purpose. For this expedition he was accommodated by the prisoner with fifty pounds in cash, and two bills; the one for twenty pounds, and the other for twenty-five pounds. A Mr. Cockayne was employed to watch the proceedings of Jackson in Ireland, and his evidence would afford them very material information.

(To be continued.)

DIFFERENT ANECDOTES OF THE KING AND QUEEN OF FRANCE

ON THE FAMOUS TENTH OF AUGUST.

WHEN the king had passed in review, about seven in the morning, those soldiers who were placed in his palace, to defend him against the insults that might be offered by the mob, the queen remained at the door of the council chamber, where she met with about twenty grenadiers of the palace. The queen addressing herself particularly to the grenadiers, said to them, "Gentlemen, all that you have most dear, your wives, your children, your properties, all depend on this day of our existence. Your interest is in common with ours; you ought not to have the least mistrust of those brave gentlemen who will partake the same dangers, and defend you even to the last fight." She addressed this short discourse with so much dignity and courage, that it brought tears from many. The guards immediately, by an electric movement, charged their arms in presence of the queen.

When Monsieur de Belair, chief of the légion, about eight o'clock, came to inform the queen that the quantity of gentlemen who were assembled in the apartments, disquieted a great part of the national guard who were in the courts, and at the different parts of the palace. The queen answered Mon-

sieur Belair: "Nothing in the world will induce us to separate from those gentlemen who are our most faithful friends. They will share the same dangers as the national guards; order them and they will obey you. Put them at the cannons mouth and they will shew you how they can die for their king."

About half past 8 o'clock, on the same morning, a municipal officer entered the council chamber, where he found the king surrounded with his family. M de Joly, keeper of the seal, asked the officer, "Well, sir, what would they have?" the officer answered, "The DETHRONEMENT." M. Joly answered bluntly to that. "Well, then let the assembly pronounce it." The queen, addressing herself to the officer, asked him, "But who will become king?" The officer bowed respect, and retired without answering a word.

At 9 o'clock, Monsieur * Ræderer

* This same Ræderer, who figured greatly in the revolution, tho' not a deputy, and who was at the commencement a pettifogging lawyer, conducted himself that day in the most barefaced double capacity; he endeavoured to manage at the same time both the monarch men and there publicans. He went to the palace and endeavoured to terrify the king and family; he then descended and encouraged the troops to repel force
by

er entered in his scarfe, at the head of the directory of the department; his first words were, "Nobody ought to interpose between the king and the department." Perceiving that many persons were disposed to hear what he had to say, he observed to them, raising his voice, that it was to the king and queen alone that he wished to speak. They then passed with him and the department into the interior of the palace.—The king, the queen, and the department, with Monsieur Ræderer at their head, being entered into the interior chamber of the king, where they found also three or four of his ministers, Monsieur Ræderer declared to their majesties, That

by force; he went afterwards and harangued the mob. Not being able to obtain what he wished from the people, and seeing a troop arrive, and the fact was announcing, that they had just disarmed the Swiss guards, he then re-entered the palace, and advised the king to trust his destiny, and that of his family, to the national assembly. He said to the aristocrats, "I have saved your master." To the Jacobines, "You owe the republic to me." The leaders of the mob who knew no medium, wished to kill him, and he was a long time concealed.

the danger was at its height; that it was above all expressions of his; that the national guard who remained faithful were in small numbers; that the others were bribed and would be the first to fire on the palace: that the king, queen, and their children, and all those who were attached to them, would be infallibly massacred, if the king did not immediately take the resolution to give himself up to the national assembly. The queen, who had anticipated some moments before the method by which he intended to ensnare the king, and to deliver him to the assembly, was resolved to oppose it; and had even said to two persons in whom she had the fullest confidence, that she should prefer being nailed to the walls of the palace to quitting it. She combated with a great deal of energy the propositions of Monsieur Ræderer. But he replied, "Madam, you are willing then to render yourself responsible for the death of the king, of your children, of yourself, and of all those who are here to defend you." At these words the king and queen, as if by inspiration, cried out, "Ah, may we be the only victims!"

ANECDOTE OF MANUEL, ONE OF THE CHIEF OF THE REPUBLIC, AND MEMBER FOR PARIS.

When the king and family were first confined in the Temple, Manuel went there; his eyes darting fire, and with a threatening air ordered the goalers, when they

locked the prisoners up, to make them hear the rattling of the bolts more distinctly; he then announced to the king (with those convulsions and torments of conscience of which

the crimes which he had committed) that monarchy was abolished in France ; that it was a republic, and that it was *be*, Manuel, one of the chiefs, who announced it. The king read upon the front of Manuel the accomplishment of the threatening that Cleopatra made to Rodogune.

“ May you never find in this your union But horror, jealousy, and diffention.”

When Manuel went out, the dauphin asked of the king the meaning of the word republic. The king, who had promised to forget all the outrages that had been shewn him,

told the dauphin, that the only way for him to know the true meaning of the word was, what Mirabeau said when he was labouring under the most violent torments of the tooth-ache. In one of his fits of rage, that great man cried out—“ I have a republic in my mouth.” The youth, charmed to see a smile upon his father’s countenance, ran immediately to carry the bon mot to his mother, sister, and aunt ; and who was never heard for two months after to utter any sigh, any complaint, but this his favourite exclamation!

SHORT REPORT OF BARRERE’S, MARCH 6, 1794.

IT will not be amiss to publish this report of Barrere’s at this critical period, and may the friends of the king and constitution rouse to purge the country from French vipers and domestic foes.—This orator, after complaining of internal and foreign foes, addressed the convention in the following words :

We have agents in every part of Europe. We have agents even in America, from whom we learn the plots of our enemies.—The combined powers cannot speak one word which we do not hear. The conferences of Mack in London ;

representations of Lucchesini at Frankfort ; the new tactics of the slaves in uniform, and the fresh intrigues of the British government in our ports ; the last convulsion in the military systems of Austria, and the politics of the Capets of Spain and Italy—all these are known to us. We shall publish the advice of Moira on the project entrusted to him.

Men of England ! We shall soon appeal to the elements which you have enslaved, and the seas which you have dishonoured. Citizens ! the campaign is on the point of commencing.

SINGULAR DECREE OF THE CONVENTION.

AT a time when the forced loan in France occupies the attention of numbers, and when it is considered that the said loan is still put off to a further period, the following decree will shew how it is impossible for the citizens to pay in specie.— Vincent, the elder, member for the Seine inferieure, concluded by saying, You know, citizens, that assignats and money are now at par; already the national paper is preferred even to money; but do not deceive yourselves; this apparent prosperity cannot last long. Foresters, stock-jobbers and brokers, wish to possess themselves of all our specie, to convert it into ingots, and send it out of the country. So

great an abundance ought not, cannot naturally exist at present. It is only with the return of peace that money can reappear and circulate through the interior of the republic. To prevent therefore our specie from being sent into foreign countries, it is necessary to forbid the circulation of all kinds of money, and to permit the use of paper only—at least for the present. I move, therefore, that *every citizen shall be obliged to carry all the money he may possess to the public treasury, and that no one shall receive any in his commercial dealings till the return of peace.*—This was instantly decreed.

TRIAL OF THE QUEEN OF FRANCE.

THE indictment being read, the public accuser requested that an act of the present accusation be given him by the tribunal, that it be ordained, that on his requisition, and through the channel of serjeant at arms, Maria Antoinette, qualifying herself by the title of Lorraine and Austria, widow of Louis Capet, actually confined in the prison of the Conciergerie, be entered on the registers of the said prison, there to remain the same as in a house of justice, and that

the sentence to be given shall be notified to the municipality of Paris, and to the accused.

These preliminaries settled, the president began and put the following questions to the queen:

President.—What is your name?

Queen.—Maria Antoinette, of Lorraine and Austria.

President.—Your quality?

Queen.—I am the widow of Louis Capet, king of the French.

The first evidence that was called was Lecointre, a violent democrat

mocrat, and deputy of the national convention, who began his deposition by saying, that the queen, at the time of her removal to the temple, had charged him with a memorial to the convention, in order to gain over twelve or fourteen persons whom she mentioned, to what she called her service.—The convention on that occasion passed the order of the day, upon the ground that he should address himself to the municipality. The witness then entered into the details of the festivals which took place at Versailles during the year 1789; the result of which had been a dreadful dilapidation in the finances of France.

The witness then gave a detail of what preceded and followed the assemblies of the notables till the epocha of the states general: the state of the inhabitants of Versailles; their grievous perplexities on the 20th of June 1789, when the artillery men of Nassau, whose cannons were placed in the stables belonging to the accused, refused to fire upon the people.

At length the Parisians having shaken off the yoke of tyranny, this revolutionary movement reanimated the energy of the mob of Versailles.—They formed the very hardy and courageous project of freeing themselves. On the 28th of July, the people of Versailles formed a wish to organize themselves into national guards, like the people of Paris.—They nevertheless proposed to consult the

king. The negotiator was the prince de Poix. Endeavours were made to prolong the matter, but the organisation having been made with the consent of the king, the staff was appointed. D'Estaing was named commandant general, and governor second in command. The witness here entered into a detail of the facts, as he called them, which preceded and followed the arrival of the regiment of Flanders. The accused, on the 29th of September, sent for some officers of the national guards, and made them a present of two pairs of colours; a third remained, which they were told was destined for a pretended battalion of guards, paid for the avowed purpose, as was said, of relieving the inhabitants of Versailles who were thus cajoled. At the same time it was affected to pity them; they in reality were objects of hatred.—On the 29th of September, 1789, the national guards gave a repast to the soldiers of the regiment of Flanders. The public journals at that time gave an account, that at the repast of the citizens nothing passed contrary to the principles of liberty; but that the feast given October 1st, by the guards du corps, had no other aim than to provoke the national guard against the regiment of Flanders. The witness observed, that the accused appeared at this latter place with the king her husband; that they were loudly applauded there; that the air of

"O Richard! O my king!" was played: that the health of the king and queen was drank as well as that of her son; but that the health of the nation never was.

After this orgie, the king and queen being in a gallery, in order to give the king a just idea of the manner in which they were disposed to defend the interests of his family, if occasion required it, a person named Percival, aid du camp to d'Estaing, climbed up first; after him a grenadier, of the regiment of Flanders; a third, a dragoon, having also attempted to scale the said balcony, did not succeed. — With respect to the said Percival, he took the cross with which he was decorated, in order to give it to the grenadier, who like him had scaled the balcony of the king.

Upon the request of the public accuser, the tribunal ordered, that a mandamus should be issued to bring forth Percival and d'Estaing. The witness then added, that on the 3d of the same month October, the gardes du corps gave a second repast. It was then that the gardes du corps committed the most violent outrages upon the national cockade, which was trodden under foot.

The deponent here detailed what happened at Versailles on the 5th and 6th of October. — He observed, that on the day of the 6th of October, d'Estaing being informed of the great movements which

were making in Paris, went to the municipality of Versailles in order to obtain permission to convey the king, who was then hunting, to a place of safety, and who was entirely ignorant of what was passing; with a promise to bring him back when tranquillity should be restored.

President (to the Queen.).—Have you any observations to make upon this witness's deposition?

Queen.—I repaired, I acknowledge, with my husband and children to the hall of the opera house: but I never saw that the national cockade was trod under foot; if it was, it must have been done when we were not present. — As for my speaking to the soldiers of the regiment of Nassau, or to the chasseurs of Trois Eveches, I can only say, it is false in the extreme.

President.—What did you say to the life guards when you appeared at that banquet?

Queen.—I applauded both the life guards and national guards, as the repast was intended to have produced a perfect union between them.

Public Accuser.—Have you not held secret councils at the house of the ci-devant dutechs of Polignac — councils, at which the French princes assisted, and in which, after having discussed the fate of the empire, you gave yourself up to the infamous pleasures of debauchery?

Queen.—All the state affairs were always

always discussed in council, and nowhere else—As for the rest of your question, I solemnly declare, I have no knowledge.

Public Accuser.—Are not Thoure, Barantin, and d'Eprimefnil, the authors of the articles of the declaration of June 23?

Queen.—No; the ministers in place alone composed the council at that time.

Judge.—Did not your husband communicate to you his designs, when he invested the hall of the representatives of the people with troops.

Queen.—My husband always reposed the fullest confidence in me. He did communicate to me the speech he was to have made at the time; but I can declare that he had no bad intentions; on the contrary, he meant it for the good of his people.

Judge.—Why did troops of the line invest Paris and Versailles?

Queen.—For the sake of general safety and tranquillity.

(*To be continued.*)

ORIGIN OF CA IRA, BEGUN AT AVIGNON.

In the commencement of the year 1790, when the lowest of the rabble were committing the greatest excesses at Avignon, a cobbler, who had got together some property which he had stole from some of the unfortunate people who were hanged at the lantern there, made it a rule when he saw a person conducting to the lantern, to cry out *ça ira*, in hopes of getting more plunder. And it is a well known

fact, that Monsieur de Rochigude *, who was hanged at the lantern post at Avignon, was seized by this fellow, who asked him, on seizing him. "Where is your watch?" "I have got none," answered M. de Rochigude. "Well, in that case," replied the cobbler, go and seek some other person to hang you: it is property I want, and when that is got, *Ca Ira*.

* Deputy of the convention, and member for Le Tarn.

HUMANITY OF SERGENT, ONE OF THE DEPUTIES OF
THE CONVENTION, AND MEMBER FOR PARIS.

" This fellow, by profession a copper plate engraver, was one of the famous bloody committee who directed the massacres in Sept. 1792. A person came to the committee, where he presided during the massacre, to implore his protection, while Ser-

gent was giving his orders to the murderers, and issuing arrests against different persons, some one trod upon his dog. Sergent turned round very gravely and said, " Take care you; have you, sir, not the least humanity."

SINGULAR ANECDOTE WHICH WAS CONFIRMED BY
BRISSOT, ONE OF THE DEPUTIES OF THE
CONVENTION.

A corporal, of the name of Le Forest, caused two innocent victims to be massacred in the following manner: At the hotel de la Force, the prisoners were massacred under the appearance of a judicial form; the members of the court were of the lowest dregs of the people, under command, and in presence of municipal officers, a prisoner was accused of fabricating false assignats, he told them it was not true, and referred them to a reputable tradesman in the street of St. Antoine, who had employed him for the last two years in his business as clerk: The corporal was sent to bring the witness, and when he went he found him occupied with his landlord in taking a lease of his house. The per-

son arrived with the corporal, but at the hideous sight of piled carcasses and mutilated limbs, and the terrible aspect of the judges he appeared before, he lost his senses, and answered in a confused manner: he was immediately massacred.

The corporal recollecting that he had found him with a man cyphering and supposing that these cyphers could be nothing else than false assignats, and that he certainly was an accomplice, went and fetched him to the hotel de la Force, where he was also massacred. This man was an honest worthy father of a numerous family; a good citizen, and named elector by his section in 1791.

ANECDOTES OF THE PRISONERS OF ORLEANS WHO WERE MURDERED BY 30 ASSASSINS, IN THE PRESENCE OF 1500 NATIONAL GUARDS, AT VERSAILLES, ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON, AT 3 O'CLOCK, 9TH SEPT. 1792.

WHEN the prisoners who were transferred from Orleans arrived at Versailles, on their road to Paris, they were in seven open carts, to the number of fifty-three; among whom were the

Duke de Coëffé Brfiac, lieutenant general of the armies, governor of Paris, &c.

Monsieur de Lessart, minister for the foreign department.

Monsieur d'Abancourt, minister of war, and a relation of M. de Calonne.

Monsieur de Castellane, bishop of Mende, aged 65.

Monsieur La Riviere, judge of the section of Henry the IV. at Paris.

21 officers, and

22 citizens, all of whom were massacred.

7 others who saved themselves after being cruelly cut and maimed.

On their arrival, the soldiers who escorted them, to the amount of 1500, called out to the populace, When are you going to begin? They were willing not to massacre them on the road, because then nothing could have exculpated them. But at Versailles

they were more at their ease, and they provoked the assassins to begin, who, to the number of thirty, deliberately mounted the carts, and murdered all those, as above stated, in presence of the whole troop.

One of the prisoners having known on the road that they were to be transferred to Versailles, found means to send orders to an upholsterer of that place, to furnish him with a bed in the place appointed for their reception.

The commons of Versailles opposed it, telling the upholsterer, that there was no manner of occasion. Effectively, there was not the least preparation made to receive these 53 prisoners. Neither food, beds, nor straw; nothing was ready. They were well assured of the massacre; and the choice of a Sunday for their entry into Versailles confirms the certainty.

Monsieur le de Brifac, while waiting for his turn to be massacred, had the presence of mind to order one of his own people, whom he perceived in the croud, to go and beg of the Countess du Barry, (to whom he was tenderly attached since the death

death of Louis the 15th) to quit, for some time, her country seat of Luciennes, because he foresaw they would carry his mutilated limbs to shew her. The cannibals did not fail to go there as he had predicted.

It is a well known fact, that these monsters of human nature drank the whole evening in a public house at Versailles, having upon their tables the limbs and heads of their murdered victims making use of, while they smoked the fingers of the unfortunate persons as tobacco stoppers. Indeed, for fifteen days afterwards, these bloody monsters kept in their

pockets, and publicly shewed various parts of the bodies of these innocent victims.

M. d'Abancourt, the war minister, killed four of these wicked assassins with a sabre which he wrested from one of them before he fell under the number of his assassins. This M. d'Abancourt was a handsome, brave young man, who at first refused accepting the place of minister; nor would he have accepted it at all had it not been for the positive orders of the king.

SEVEN MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION, DEPUTIES FOR A PLACE IN THE HANDS OF THE ENGLISH.

IT is worthy of notice, that Corsica sent seven deputies to the convention, six of whom are at present in the council of five hundred, viz.

Chiappe,
Péraldy,
Cafa Bianca,

Andrei,
Bausio,
Mottedo,

None of whom voted for the king's death; there was only the other member, Salicetti, who called out—La Mort!

Anecdotes of the Modern Philosophers of France who brought about the Revolution in our next.



